Nixon, Reagan or Romney?

Who's Ahead for 1968 Republican Nomination?

Exclusive poll of '64 GOP delegates on page 9.

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Baker Case Revelation

Bobby Kennedy Ordered Wiretapping

By WALTER TROHAN

It is time that the truth be told about electronic eavesdropping in the income tax case against Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, former secretary to the Senate Democrats and former influence operator.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation did employ electronic devices to eavesdrop on Baker's conversations with a wide variety of figures, including a Las Vegas gambler. But the FBI didn't monitor phone calls on its own or by whim.

The FBI was ordered to "bug" the phones of Baker and his friends. The orders came from Robert F. (Bobby) Kennedy, then the attorney general and now Democratic senator from New York. Actually, the tapes were not very exciting or productive.

It must be assumed that these orders were written and are in the possession of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The director is too wise a man to undertake such an operation without written authorization.

The FBI has been called up by various Presidents to undertake investigations and tasks not properly among its legal duties. President Roosevelt, for example, had agents detailed to recruit votes in a press association election. President Johnson has had the FBI investigate various local crimes.

Sen. Kennedy has maintained a strict silence on his role in the "war of the two Bobbys," as some termed the investigation of Bobby Baker by Bobby Kennedy. At the moment Kennedy is interested in building a liberal base, even if he has to steal it from Vice President Humphrey.

BAKER

KENNEDY

HOOVER

In order to try to get President Kennedy to drop Lyndon Johnson as his running mate in 1964, attorney general Bobby Kennedy authorized the tapping of Bobby Baker's phone. Contrary to what some liberals seem to think, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover did not initiate the taps.

Liberals are generally outraged by wire tapping. They look upon it as an unforgivable invasion of privacy, no matter if it involves national security or crime.

At the time he ordered the taps on Bobby Baker, Kennedy's concern over privacy was not so great. It is a known fact that he journeyed from city to city to listen to tapes of tapped conversations.

The eavesdropping in the Baker case began in February 1963. Electronic devices were put on the phones of a Washington business consultant, associated with Baker, in a Washington hotel. Tapes included conversations in which Baker participated.

It long has been assumed in Washington that Kennedy launched the Baker case in hopes of getting information which would enable him to force Lyndon B. Johnson off the ticket as a vice presidential candidate in 1964. The assassination of President Kennedy upset such a plan, if it existed as is commonly supposed, along with failure to uncover any influence ties between the Senate majority secretary and the former Senate majority leader, who had become vice president.

Bobby didn't favor Mr. Johnson as his brother's running mate in 1960. John F. Kennedy took his rival for the Democratic presidential nomination in an effort to hold the South in line for the Democratic party. This Mr. Johnson did with such success as to insure the ticket's victory in a tight election, which some believe was stolen by vote frauds in Illinois and Texas.

It is too much to expect Bobby to come forth and acknowledge his role in the Baker wire tap. It is not likely that Democratic courts will insist on delving into the question of responsibility.

In last week's court hearings on the Baker case, the government attorney objected every time the defense attorney sought to find out who authorized the eavesdropping, and the court sustained the objections.

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You'll be interested to know . . .

What the NY *Times* and Group Research Reported About *Human Events*

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Walter Lippmann's Back (Yawn)

Page 13

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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" . . . thank you for the part HUMAN EVENTS played in the elections in November. I really believe your paper had a lot to do with the way many of these elections turned out."—C. Francis Moschler, Gretna, Va.

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Radio Havana was outraged by the election of **Ronald Reagan** as governor of California. "The former cinema actor, a notorious Fascist element and member of the John Birch Society, won the governorship of California when he beat incumbent Edmund Brown," said the Red Radio, in a charge only a bit more wild than those of domestic liberals.

● Sen. **Richard B. Russell** (D.-Ga.), a member of the Warren Commission that investigated the JFK assassination, says he is still not fully satisfied with that group's findings, but neither does he totally dismiss them as do some critics. Russell believes that Oswald shot the President, but he does not feel certain the Soviet Union provided all the information available on Oswald's 1959-1962 stay in Russia and thinks not enough has been brought out about Oswald's Cuba connections. Russell also does not believe the commission's thesis that the first bullet fired in the Dallas assassination wounded Kennedy and then Connally. He also revealed that he got Warren to revise the commission's original findings which categorically claimed there was no conspiracy involved.

● Pollster Lou Harris had bad news for **Hubert Humphrey** last week. Bobby Kennedy has widened his lead over Humphrey for the Democratic vice presidential nomination in 1968. Harris said that RFK led 61 to 39 over Humphrey and predicted that powerful pressures may mount "within the Democratic party to put Kennedy on the ticket." Kennedy also leads Lyndon Johnson, 44 to 37, for the presidential nomination, according to the poll.

● Look for the Senate liberals in the 90th Congress to put on a determined drive to revise the rules on debate in order to make the breaking of a **filibuster** easier.

● John Lindsay's political Svengali, Deputy Mayor **Robert Price,** has quit his City Hall job to start working on the 1968 presidential election, according to the New York World Journal Tribune. Quoting informed sources, the paper said that Price's primary objective will be to swing the GOP presidential nomination to some "moderate" Republican who will accept Lindsay as his vice presidential running mate. "The new prestige of Republicans like Romney, Sen.-elect Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Rockefeller and others convinced Price and Lindsay that moderates can seize control of the 1968 GOP convention from the conservative wing led by Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon," the paper said.

● Now that the election's over, the Administration is admitting the bad news: Congress, it says, will have to raise the **federal debt ceiling** (presently at $330 billion) by $2 billion or more early in the 1967 session. Other news that has come since November 8: The Soviets have deployed an ABM system, Gen. Westmoreland needs more American troops in South Viet Nam and the North Vietnamese are infiltrating 7,000 to 8,000 troops into the south every month—almost double original estimates.

● The big question facing Senate Republicans: Who shall replace Sen. Thruston B. Morton (R.-Ky.) as chairman of the Republican **Senatorial Campaign Committee?** The post guarantees its occupant audiences all over the country, a place in the party leadership and the leverage that comes from dispensing several hundred thousand dollars a year. Those being considered: Sens. Murphy (Calif.); Tower (Tex.), Miller (Iowa) and Scott (Pa.). Scott appears to be the liberal GOP's favorite choice.

● The Czech government continues to hold incommunicado **Vladimir J. Kazan-Komarek,** a naturalized American who was seized by Prague officials on October 31 when a Soviet Aeroflot plane on a Moscow-to-Paris flight made an unscheduled stop in the Czechoslovak capital.

● The **Democratic Study Group** (see "Human Events," November 5, page 8) will remain a potenent force in the 90th Congress, despite the loss of 40 members in the November elections. The DSG can count on 140 congressmen—28 above the number it had in the 2nd Session of the 88th Congress, according to Scripps-Howard columnist John Herling. In addition, two new members may be added to the DSG—Congressmen-elect Peter Kyros (Me.) and Frank Brasco (N.Y.).

● **Bobby Kennedy** was sharply rebuked last week by a liberal member of New York's Democratic congressional delegation. Rep. Joseph Resnick rejected suggestions that Bobby take over the reins of the state Democratic party: "He is not going to be my leader. I cannot follow Sen. Kennedy. . . . He has only one idea, and that is to be President of the United States."

● Among the 129 prominent liberal Americans who signed an open letter urging pro-Marxist **U Thant** to stay on as secretary general of the United Nations: Harold S. Geneen, president of International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.; Dr. Clark Kerr, president of the University of California; David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Leland I. Doan, president of Dow Chemical Co.

● Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** (R.-Calif.) faces almost certain primary opposition for renomination two years hence. Even party moderates were disgusted by Kuchel's refusal to support GOP gubernatorial nominee Ronald Reagan this year. (Kuchel had earlier boycotted Richard Nixon's 1962 campaign and those of Barry Goldwater and George Murphy in 1964.) Columnist Bruce Biossat quoted a Democratic pro in California: "I figure Tom has three choices. He can quit, he can become a Democrat or he can lose."

● While many business experts say the proposed merger of International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. and the American Broadcasting Co. is perfectly proper, many are also intrigued by the fact that at least seven of the top corporate officers in the projected merger have been heavy contributors to the **President's Club.** Among them: Harold S. Geneen, ITT's chairman; Eugene R. Black, an ITT director; George R. Brown, ITT director and a long-time confidant of LBJ. Some of these contributors, it is being suggested, may have thought approval for the merger would come more quickly if the new corporate officers were on record as belonging to the Club.

● The **Conservative party** in New York is now considered a real power in that state's politics. The relatively new party, led by the largely unknown college dean, Dr. Paul Adams, lined up half a million voters and drew nearly as many votes as the well-established Liberal party which ran the well-known FDR Jr.

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Pitfalls Ahead for Romney

The Puerto Rico powwow between Gov. George Romney of Michigan and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York has seriously damaged Romney's chances of capturing the GOP presidential nomination. That, at any rate, is the thinking of knowledgeable politicos who are amazed that Romney decided to hold one of his first big post-election confabs with Rocky rather than with Nixon or Reagan or other prominent 1964 Goldwater supporters with whom Romney desperately needs to mend his fences if he hopes to obtain the GOP nomination.

Meeting with Rockefeller to map out party strategy is viewed as nothing less than another direct slap in the face of those who backed Goldwater in 1964.

Rocky, like Romney, failed to support the Arizonan's presidential bid, but he also became Goldwater's bitter political enemy during the campaign, attempting to wrap the "trigger happy" and "irresponsible" labels around Goldwater's neck. The Goldwater faction has not forgotten—nor forgiven. Whatever "understanding" Romney and Rocky may have come to at Dorado Beach, the meeting has again alienated regular Republicans from Romney and doesn't bode well for the Michigan governor.

• The *Human Events* poll of the 1964 delegates (see page 9) also reveals that the Eastern press' "nomination" of Gov. George Romney as the GOP's 1968 presidential candidate is a bit premature. As our poll shows, former Vice President Richard Nixon was preferred by 38 per cent of the delegates, while only 25 per cent approved of Romney. Furthermore, Ronald Reagan bagged 13 per cent of the ballots cast. Reagan, who polled well in all sections of the country, even did better than "moderate" Charles Percy in the liberal East. Together Nixon and Reagan—both of whom strongly supported Goldwater in 1964—amassed 51 per cent of the delegate vote.

Romney's bid also faced this obstacle: Of those polled, 27 per cent said they would not work for, and 13 per cent said they would not vote for, a Republican who did not support Sen. Barry Goldwater's presidential bid in 1964. Hence the belief that Romney is far from the shoo-in proclaimed by many liberal pundits.

• In his "Issues and Answers" interview (see below), California's Gov.-elect Ronald Reagan, who will probably control a large flock of delegates at the 1968 GOP convention, laid down some further roadblocks to Romney's nomination.

Reagan suggested that before Romney can be accepted the people are going to have to hear him express himself more forcefully on the issues of the day. "To my knowledge," said Reagan, "the governor

Governors George Romney (left) and Nelson Rockefeller confer during their vacations in Puerto Rico.

has pretty much . . . devoted himself to the problems of his state, and I think that you want to know what someone's views are on the international scene if they want to move up and deal with those international problems."

With obvious reference to Romney's refusal to support Goldwater in 1964, Reagan also said: "I don't think that a convention would probably support someone, let's say, who stayed aloof or who actually opposed the will of the party and then was completely unregenerate about this. . . ." It all depends, said Reagan, upon whether the individual "repented" or not. Few who know Romney think he is the "repenting" kind.

• Columnist Ted Lewis of the New York *Daily News* speaks of still another possible obstacle to Romney's chances: a 12-page letter to Goldwater from Romney following Goldwater's loss in 1964. Lewis suggests that this Romney missive may be even more politically explosive than the vitriolic letter sent to Goldwater by Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania at the height of the 1964 convention. (Scranton took responsibility for it, though he claimed to have never read it or signed it.)

Writes Lewis: "This letter, 12 pages long, was written, read and signed by Romney. . . . In it Romney, at Goldwater's request, went to great length

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

to explain exactly why he failed to support his party's national ticket. . . .

"There is considerable mystery about this Romney letter simply because no one seems inclined to make it public at present.

"The original of the 12-page explanation of why Romney ran out on Barry is difficult to trace. Our Phoneix, Ariz., sources simply report that the Goldwater records indicate the original was sent to Dean Burch, GOP national chairman in 1964. There is also a microfilm copy in Goldwater's files, and the present intention is to keep it under lock and key until Romney decides the time is propitious for its release.

"The only hearsay reports as to what the letter says are along the line that it criticizes the 'extremist' tones of the Goldwater candidacy and the planks in the party platform demanded and obtained by the party's right wing. . . ."

Adds Lewis: "Certainly until the entire contents of this letter are revealed, it is impossible for any GOP kingmaker attracted to Romney to figure that the Michigan governor is the best available man to bind up the party's ideological wounds so there will be union, leading to victory over LBJ in 1968."

The Liberal GOP Strategy

Republican liberals are currently working on plans to turn the GOP leftward with two immediate objectives in mind: to force the party to accept a "progressive" platform in 1968, and to try to maneuver the party into policy positions that would make it virtually impossible for it to nominate a "conservative."

A key element in this strategy, writes Washington *Evening Star* reporter Paul Hope, "centers in the Senate, where several new Republican senators—notably Charles Percy of Illinois, Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Edward Brooke of Massachusetts—are expected to be influential despite their freshman status." There is already a proposal afloat to have the "liberal" Republicans issue a series of position statements on major problems.

These "liberals" are also working hard to elect one of their own to head the Republican Governor's Association which meets December 9-10 in Colorado Springs to choose a new chairman. Leading liberal contenders are reported to be John Love of Colorado, Dan Evans of Washington and John Chafee of Rhode Island.

Gov. Chafee has warned the GOP governors—who now number 25—that unless they take a hand in party affairs the party will again go the way of Goldwater in 1968. Chafee has had a keen desire to see the governors shape the party platform.

Notes one "moderate" quoted by Hope: "If we can have 15 senators and a working majority of governors mouthing the same angle on issues, we can create a ground swell so that party leaders on the fence or who might be opposed may find no place else to go."

Reagan Keeps Door Ajar

In contrast to their downgrading of Gov. Romney's political performance on "Meet the Press" recently, politicos were much impressed with Gov.-elect Ronald Reagan's handling of his first post-election TV interview over ABC's "Issues and Answers" on November 20.

REAGAN

Though considered a political novice, Reagan managed himself like an old pro. He fielded the queries on Romney (note above) with aplomb and attacked federal programs dealing with anti-poverty and welfare without letting himself open to the charge that he is "against the poor."

He committed himself to a probe of the University of California at Berkeley, but neatly avoided the "witch hunter's" role. And he put himself squarely behind Gen. Dwight Eisenhower when he said the United States had a "moral obligation" to "turn the full resources of this nation into winning" the war in Viet Nam. Thus, Reagan deftly struck a blow for his conservative philosophy.

Reagan, however, was considered most astute in his response to ABC's Piers Anderton, who tried to get California's governor-elect to "make a Sherman-like" statement taking himself out of the 1968 presidential race.

Reagan pointedly refused. He said he planned to serve out his four-year term as governor and had no intention of "lifting a finger" on his own behalf, but then suggested it would be presumptuous of him to say that he would never under any circumstances choose to run.

Thus, by leaving the door ajar, no matter how slightly, for 1968, Reagan did not fall into the trap of cutting off whatever popular ground swell exists for him. A Shermanesque statement, say the pros, would probably have dried up his support and thus weakened his bargaining strength at the GOP convention.

Politicos say that Reagan, who, as our poll of delegates shows, already has strong support in the South, West and Midwest, can certainly pick up enough delegate backing in 1968 to wind up as the convention kingmaker—if not the king. By continuing to leave the door open, California's governor-elect can ensure that the GOP ticket will be conservatively oriented and won't come under the thumb of the Eastern liberals.

Soviets Violate Test Ban

Reports are circulating through Washington that the Administration is deliberately playing down indications that the Soviet Union may have intentionally violated the nuclear test-ban treaty.

Under the 1963 treaty, above-ground nuclear tests

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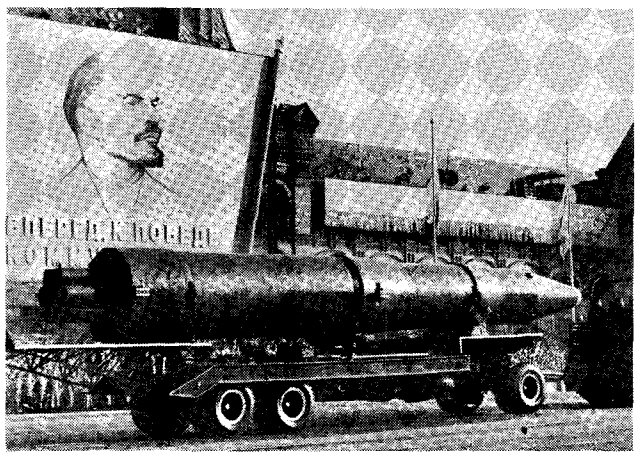
are banned and underground tests permitted only if they do not release "radioactive debris" beyond the boundaries of the testing nation. In January 1965 the Soviets set off an explosion in which radioactivity escaped beyond the borders of Soviet Russia, but the United States chalked up the venting to an "accident."

A number of scientific experts, however, have a different theory about the Soviet nuclear test that took place September 27 on the Arctic Island of Novaya Zemlya.

Subsequent to that explosion—estimated to be three times the normal size of an American underground test—a considerable amount of nuclear debris was detected by the United States in the Far East and Europe.

The Soviet explosion, it is known, took place only about 15 minutes after the Chinese tested a nuclear device near Lop Nor in Chinese Central Asia.

There is much speculation among American experts that the Russians deliberately timed their explosion so that any radioactivity that "leaked" would become mixed with the far larger amounts from the atmospheric Chinese tests. Though it would still be possible to distinguish radioactive materials from the two tests, the mixing would make this much more difficult.



The Soviets may be testing nuclear devices for smaller missiles like this one being paraded through Moscow's Red Square.

At any rate, it is held in some authoritative quarters that the Soviets purposely set off an atomic test they knew would violate the test ban. And, even if their actions were not deliberate, a definite violation has still occurred.

Nevertheless, the State Department has taken its usual ho-hum attitude and done nothing about the violation, believing it better not to upset any possibility of a Soviet-American *détente*.

'Nets' Goof in Elections

Sharply critical of the networks' blatant inaccuracies during the November 8 elections, the Free Society Association, founded by Barry Goldwater, has recommended that a panel of "unbiased experts" be set up to establish ground rules for future election coverage. The panel, the association suggested, might include representatives from academic and research groups, from the networks and from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Chief complaint of FSA is that by announcing winners and losers—sometimes inaccurately—before the polls closed, the networks may have affected the actual election outcome by discouraging voters from going to the polls.

Unless better ground rules are set up, said FSA, "The orderly Democratic processes will once again be disrupted by competition between television-radio networks and their show business news personalities."

Citing specific instances of inaccuracies in its bulletin to members, the FSA made these barbed comments:

"The people of Georgia still don't know who their new governor is, but NBC called it for [Lester Maddox] by a landslide at 8:03 p.m. and CBS and ABC went right along."

The people of Maryland didn't elect George P. Mahoney, said FSA, "but CBS did at 8:10 when voters were still lined up outside the polls in the state's second largest county."

According to FSA, "ABC set the record: In eight key races they were wrong every time. All around the country losers like [Karl F.] Rolvaag of Minnesota and [T. E.] Lusk of New Mexico heard they were in."

Even worse, the association said, the networks jumped the gun by declaring two gubernatorial winners—Ronald Reagan in California and Robert Docking in Kansas. The networks were right both times, the association said, but "it happened before the polls were closed."

Trading With Reds

The United States is continuing its drive to promote trade with Communist countries. Under Secretary of State Eugene V. Rostow—brother of Walt Rostow, a White House adviser—proposed last week that the Western industrial powers make a joint effort to expand economic ties with Eastern Europe. Rostow made the suggestion at the annual ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, an organization of 21 capitalist countries—17 European nations and the United States, Canada, Japan and Turkey.

ROSTOW

In his remarks Rostow cited a little-noticed passage in LBJ's European speech of October 7 that said the OECD could "play an important part in trade and contacts with the East."

Rostow said that one item the OECD might study is the prospect for investment or joint financing with Communist authorities of projects in the East. Rostow's proposals, according to informed sources, were met with general approval.

GOP Gains in States

Republicans scored heavily in the last election—not only in Congress but at the state level. Republicans, for example, picked up eight governors, thus bringing a total of 25 governorships to the GOP fold. They picked up eight lieutenant governors, five attorneys general, five secretaries of state, six auditors or comptrollers and five treasurers.

An unofficial count of state legislative seats reveals that the GOP gained control of 41 per cent of the seats in the state legislatures on November 8, up from the 33 per cent they controlled after the 1964 elections. Before the 1966 elections Republicans controlled both houses in only six states; now they control both houses in 15.

LBJ's Inflation

Higher costs of housing, apparel and medical care pushed the cost of living up again in October for a four-tenths of 1 per cent rise, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

This raised the 12-month increase 3.7 per cent above a year ago—the biggest annual rise in nearly 10 years. Arthur M. Ross, commissioner of the bureau, said the October gain was the ninth consecutive month living costs have risen. Asked whether he regarded the October index as stable or what, Ross replied: "Obviously it's more than we'd like." He said he thought the over-all increase for the whole year may round out at 3.5 per cent, but added that "it might go higher."

• The Department of Commerce has released its "Business Cycle Developments" report which reveals that labor costs in manufacturing have risen significantly higher than productivity in the last two months. This means that wages are currently running higher than output for each hour worked.

• *Minority leader Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) disclosed last week that Republicans will probably submit their own budget at about the same time LBJ unveils his in January. "I think," said Dirksen, "we will have support of the Republican members of the Appropriations, Finance and Ways and Means Committees in putting together a fiscal program. We hope to offer an alternative budget to cut government spending as a curb on inflation."*

Korean War Turncoat

Korean War turncoat Clarence Adams, who returned home from Red China five months ago, wants to tell the world how democracy excels communism.

Adams, who lived in China for 13 years, said last week he wants the government to allow him to help in the propaganda war against communism.

"I conducted a sort of personal referendum between communism and democracy by seeing both first-hand and making up my mind the hard way," said the slim Negro, who lives in Memphis, Tenn., with his mother, his Chinese wife and two children.

"In China I learned you don't want your mind dominated or subjugated to somebody or some system. To be able to talk freely is wonderful," he said.

Adams also praised the civil rights progress made in the South since he defected to China during the Korean conflict.

"As a boy I thought of Chicago as a mecca for Negroes. Memphis is working out its problems better than Chicago," he said.

Powell Skips Court

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, has become a fugitive from justice subject to arrest at any time if he comes into New York state.

Powell had been ordered to surrender before the state supreme court for a 30-day jail sentence and to pay a $500 fine for criminal contempt of court, but refused to appear. Thus, he can now be thrown into jail at any time.

For failure to pay the fine, he also faces an additional 60 days in jail. Vainly waiting for a Powell appearance in the third-floor office of the United States Court House at Foley Square was Senior Deputy Sheriff Howard Walsh.

Few expected the Harlem playboy-lawmaker to show, for not only was a fine and a 30-day jail term involved, but a year and 30 days on three other sentences imposed because Powell had refused to obey subpoenas and court orders to submit to an examination of his assets or pay more than $164,000 a jury has required him to pay Mrs. Esther James for defaming her character. Powell once called Mrs. James, a 68-year-old Harlem widow, a "bag woman," who collected bribes for the police.

Two Chinas in the U.N.?

Arthur J. Goldberg, U. S. ambassador to the United Nations, claimed the United States still rejects the admission of Red China to the U. N. However, Goldberg said that he would support a move by Italy and five other countries for high-level study of the China problem, with a possible seating of both Nationalist and Communist China.

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LBJ's Dilemma: Would He Pay for Tax Hike?

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

President Johnson conferred in his hospital room on November 17 with four of his top economic and fiscal wizards whose recommendations will figure in his decision for or against asking the new Congress in January for an anti-inflation tax increase.

There is, unfortunately, a general naive belief that what these statistical experts propose will be the determining factor in the President's decision.

What is overlooked is that LBJ has to face up to a serious political problem in connection with a tax increase. It is one that constitutes a real dilemma, due to new GOP congressional gains and the fact that he must consider if he would be more apt to win or lose votes in presidential 1968 by risking a little more inflation instead of raising taxes.

The fact is that earlier this year the President, for political reasons, did not take the tax advice of some, if not all, of his economic advisers. Last April Federal Reserve Board chief William McChesney Martin urged Johnson to press the last Congress for tax hikes to bank the fires of the overheated economy.

But LBJ held back. He felt that tax increases in a congressional election year were not good politics, although as it turned out the Republicans made gains anyway, just on the issue that the Administration had been lax in doing anything about the high cost of living.

Martin was not alone among the "wizards" last spring in recommending tax increases. Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said about the same thing, but more softly. He favored a "small temporary surcharge on everybody's tax bill," saying it would take money out of consumers' pockets "and calm down their spending."

In the last few months, with the exception of Martin, the wizards have generally switched around. They think the economic expansion has moderated, that consumer prices are leveling off. Perhaps a tax increase would moderate the expansion too much!

This was pretty much the line the wizards peddled after they conferred at the hospital with LBJ. At least, their spokesman—Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler—did. Neither Martin, Budget Director Charles Schultze nor economist Arthur Okun (Ackley's stand-in) publicly disagreed.

Now, what these four know about politics as played by LBJ is a lot less than he knows about economic and fiscal problems. He is one of the best-informed Presidents ever in budgetary and similar matters. He is also smart in assessing the long-range public reaction to continued inflation vis-à-vis higher taxes.

Moreover, he has to consider as a political expert a labor problem of considerable delicacy.

In 1967 there will be wage contract negotiations between unions and managements in many big industries. The bigger the hourly increases won by labor, the more money consumers will have to spend and the more the flame of inflation is applied to the economy.

In such an event, an across-the-board tax hike would help considerably in keeping the economy under control. And would a tax increase in 1967 necessarily hurt LBJ's second-term chances in 1968? Not if it prevents consumer prices from soaring while letting the boom keep on booming—but under control.

Some Administration politicians are definitely thinking along that line—a tax increase in 1967—and then, hoping for the best, a tax reduction in 1968 when the nation votes LBJ in—or out.

Regardless of the contrary impression Secretary Fowler has tried to give, the politicians would not be surprised if Johnson finally decides to propose higher taxes.

They base their opinion on the belief that the Viet war will eat up more billions than expected because it will get hotter, and because of increased government spending, the economy will remain heated too.

What sort of tax increases are being most talked about? First, more and more is being heard about a straight 10 per cent increase on individual tax bills and a 20 per cent increase in corporate tax liability, or possibly a special surtax—a sort of excess profits tax.

These increases would be designed to bring in $5 to $7 billion in additional revenue. The sock on the individual wouldn't be too much, it is argued. For example, a married taxpayer with two children and standard deductions, making $7,500 a year would pay out $754 to Uncle Sam instead of $686. A similar taxpayer earning $4,000 would have a tax bill of $154 instead of $140.

When is the President going to make up his mind one way or another? Well, his advisers would like to have him decide in the next few weeks. They think individuals and corporations have a right to know—especially business, which has been uncertain for too long and would like to make plans for 1967.

The best guess is that Johnson is going to take his own sweet time on this decision because of its politically explosive character. Perhaps it won't come until mid-January, when his economic report goes to the new Congress.

As the President said down in Texas the Sunday after the election, he intends to "carefully evaluate the picture" by getting a little better look at the economy, defense requirements and revenue prospects. He wanted to make a "prudent" decision and not "fire in the dark or jump in the dark."

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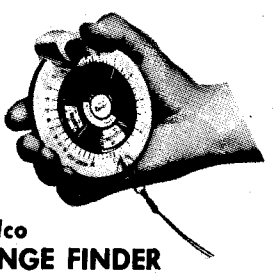

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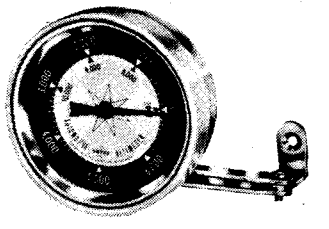

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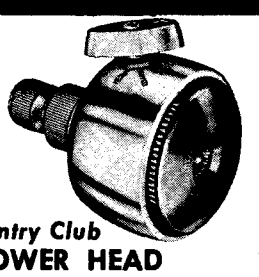

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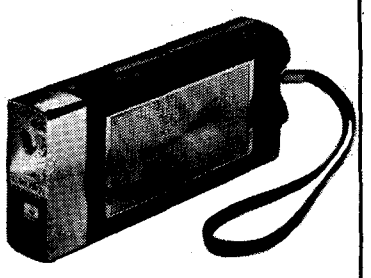

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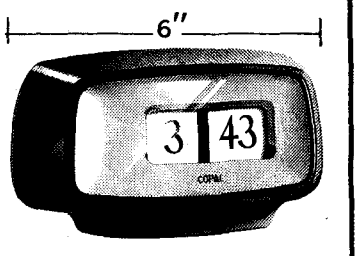

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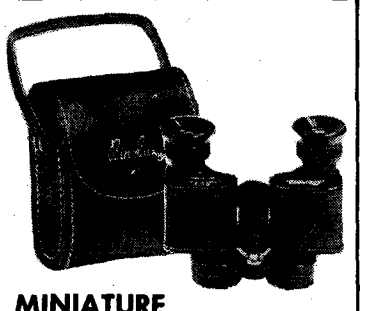

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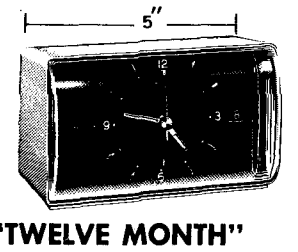

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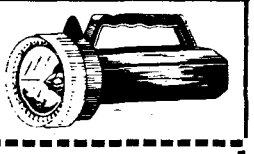

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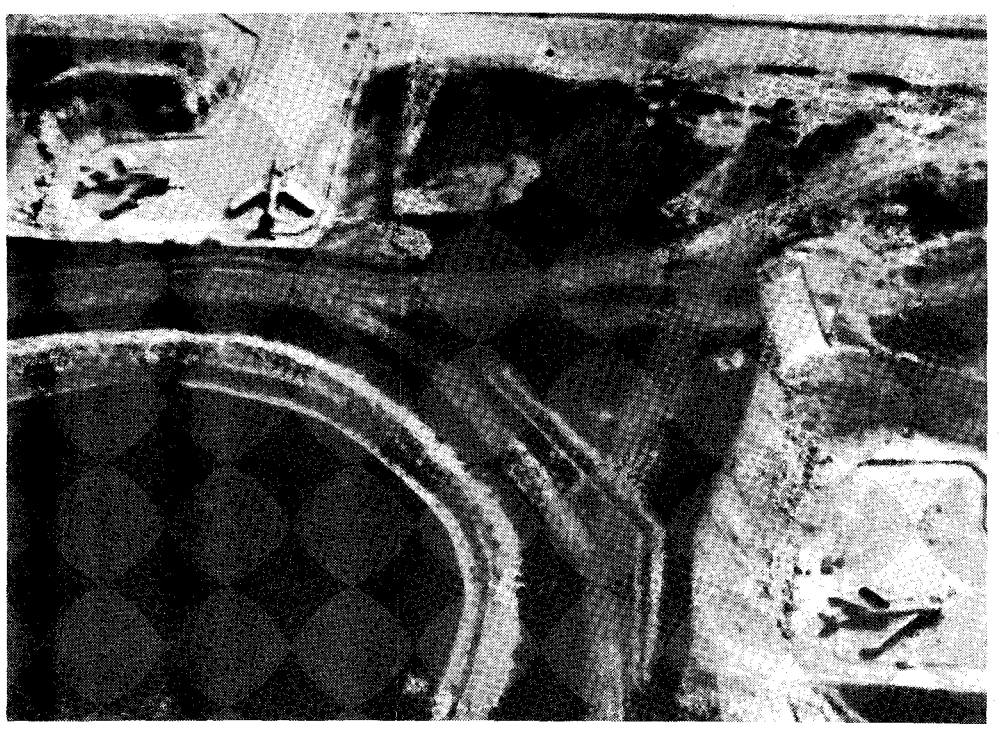

Three Soviet-built MIG-17s are parked on the airfield at Phuc Yen, about 20 miles northwest of Hanoi. For fear of "widening the war," this and other airfields in North Viet Nam have so far been immune from U.S. air attacks.

Has U.S. Given Red China Non-Escalation Guarantee?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The mystery behind what some Republicans call "Johnson's undeclared half war" in Viet Nam begins to lighten.

For years puzzled Americans, particularly the relatives of those engaged in combat in Viet Nam, have been asking why the Administration does not take the steps which most military men recommend. Why, they have wondered, does our President, who occasionally talks like a Texan, not decide to win the war in the shortest possible time? Why has *he limited* our attacks on North Viet Nam to bombing and occasional attacks on Vietnamese warships on the high seas?

Why has he flatly refused to blockade the port of Haiphong, through which Ho Chi Minh receives the bulk of the arms and supplies which he needs to nourish the war in South Viet Nam? Above all, why has the United States restrained the South Vietnamese from invading North Viet Nam?

In short, why has any U.S. administration allowed itself to be maneuvered into fighting a second Korea, the kind of war which leaves to the enemy the strategic initiatives and lets him set the degree of fighting?

Meanwhile, ever more U.S. citizens are accusing LBJ of letting our fighting men down.

Now a sort of answer is emerging—the "undeclared half war" is a guarantee against "escalation," meaning the extension of the conflict to Red China and even, some peaceniks insist, to Red Russia. As Secretary of State Rusk hinted when he told Sen. Thurmond that he could "have a bigger war whenever you like," the Administration believes that further offensive moves against North Viet Nam by the United States would bring Red China into the conflict.

Many China watchers whom I met in the Far East laugh at this. Red China is, they believe, totally immobilized, first by the prevailing dissension and resulting chaos—the Red Guards on the loose—and even more by the increasing threat of a liberation landing by the Republic of China.

What then, many have been wondering, does the Administration know that these trained China watchers do not know or disbelieve?

The mystery, as I wrote at the start, is beginning to become clear: the United States has a promise by Red China not to intervene in Viet Nam so long as the United States refrains from three things: (1) attacking Red China itself; (2) blockading Haiphong; and (3) not invading or helping South Vietnamese to invade North Viet Nam. Such a promise could have been communicated to an American diplomat by a Red Chinese diplomat during one of their regular meetings in Warsaw. Or it could have been communicated by some "neutral" intermediary.

But if it exists—and I believe it does—it explains the otherwise incomprehensible and un-American limitations placed upon our military commanders in Viet Nam—and their ensuing frustration.

It explains Secretary McNamara's assurances that we do not expect to step up the conflict in the near future. And it points to growing demands by American citizens that the United States "either get on or get out" of South Viet Nam.

Moreover, should Richard Nixon's prophecy that in 1968 both parties will run on a peace platform be correct, President Johnson will have to win within the next 18 months—or the war will have been fought in vain.

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REDS IN DELANO — Two identified Communists, according to the West Coast publication *Tocsin,* handled the incorporation of a recently launched Farm Workers Cooperative in California's strike-torn Delano. The two "identified" Reds: Robert Treuhaft and Doris Brin Walker, partners in the Oakland law firm bearing their names.

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Ads and U.S. Liberties

Immediate counterattack needed against increasing bureaucratic restrictions

From the New York *Daily News*

Charles T. Lipscomb Jr., who heads the American Newspaper Publishers Association's advertising bureau, is urging U.S. business and industry to join in fighting what he sees as a steadily increasing drive by federal bureaucrats to hobble, hamper and curtail advertising.

We see it the same way. Herewith, our first but in all likelihood by no means our last comment on the subject. And here are some of the aspects of the drive against which Mr. Lipscomb is sounding the alarm bells:

Item: Some character in the U.S. Department of Justice has dreamed up a notion that big companies in a given field habitually do much more advertising than little companies in the same field, and that this gives the "bigs" an unfair advantage over the "smalls."

So it is predicted here and there that the Justice Department sooner or later will try to prosecute one of these big advertisers under the antitrust laws, get a conviction, and thereby set a precedent for limiting the amount of advertising any concern may do.

Item: The Federal Trade Commission is reported to feel that it is some kind of unfair practice for newspapers, magazines and television networks or stations to charge big advertisers lower-per-unit rates than they charge small ones. Visions of headline-luscious lawsuits are reported also dancing through the head of the FTC chairman, a gent named Paul Rand Dixon.

Item: The U.S. Senate itself is said to be planning hearings on this same "quantity discount" practice among the TV networks.

All these items have nothing to do with keeping advertising honest, which of course advertising should be, and which it is by all honest advertisers, advertising agencies and advertising media insofar as they are able.

We know of no objection to proper government regulation of advertising in fields where private persons and groups cannot ride herd on advertising. But neither do we know of any such fields. If you know of any, please tell us.

What the bureaucrats discussed herein, and a few senators, are aiming at is the main source of income of the nation's big vehicles of communication.

Newspapers and magazines live chiefly on advertising, with a handful of exceptions. [*Human Events* is one.—Editor]

That is only another way of saying that, if it were not for advertising, most of these publications would have to charge many times as much per copy or per subscription as they charge now.

The same applies to TV and radio programs that are free to the public. But for those frequent messages from those numerous sponsors, only pay-TV and pay-radio could survive, privately operated, in this country—at considerable expense to each and every customer.

Without advertising, then, the public's right to know what goes on in the world, via press, TV and radio, would be badly curtailed, and the exercise of what was left of that basic right would be outrageously expensive.

Hence, these bureaucrats and politicians who are steaming up this drive against legitimate advertising and established advertising practices actually are mounting an attack on an essential right, a fundamental liberty, of Americans.

Mr. Lipscomb therefore is more than justified in calling on industry and business to join in fighting this drive against the right to know at reasonable cost. It is their patriotic duty to fight, as well as economic self-defense.

It is to be hoped, too, that all the newspapers, magazines and TV and radio outlets will stand up and fight.

Their constitutional rights are being threatened by this anti-advertising campaign in Washington. But the Constitution doesn't bother fanatics who hate advertising, and nothing that we know of will stop these persons except a fearless and vigorous counterattack.

The time to start the counterattack is now—not next week or next year. Let's get cracking.

□ □ □

RYE TURNS IT DOWN—Residents of a "blighted area" in Rye, N.Y., have requested federal officials to withhold $700,000 in urban renewal funds to improve their neighborhood. The residents have formed the Rye United Improvement Committee and asked Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert Weaver to keep the money. "The funds are badly needed elsewhere," the group said. "It is clear that the city of Rye is entirely capable of dealing with the minor problem facing it without outside assistance."

MARK TWAIN AND THE GOVERNMENT

Selected and arranged by Svend Petersen

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Mark Twain, who had a great deal to say about almost every subject under the sun, as well as those beyond the solar system, did not neglect the government and politics. The compiler has gone through his tremendous literary output and the available accounts of his speeches and lectures in order to assemble Mark Twain's views on what Huckleberry Finn called "the gov'ment."

This famous writer foresaw, over half a century ago, what is taking place in America today. His comments regarding centralized government, Congress, taxation, and related topics are as timely now as when they were first made. Noting the gradual taking away of the powers of the states and their concentration in the hands of the central government, he was moved to predict that history would repeat itself and the United States would, in time, become a monarchy.

Many of the passages are as pertinent today, and as sharply to the point, as when they were first written. There are observations on the Presidency, the Supreme Court, elections, party loyalty, Democrats and Republicans, and many more. The excerpts are from his novels, speeches, lectures, and private papers.

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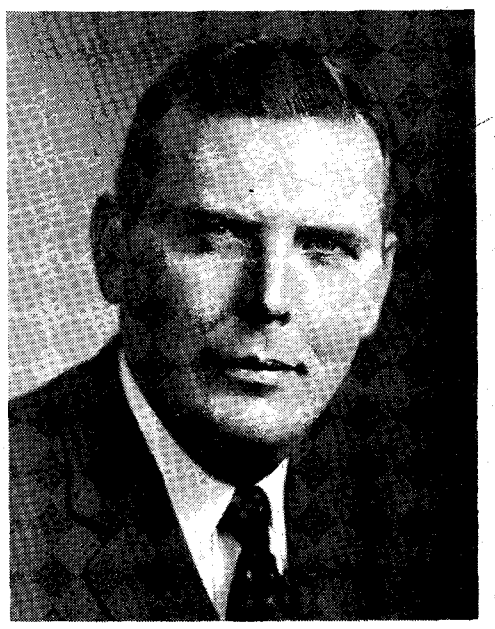
Blow to Police Everywhere

President Vetoes D.C. Crime Bill

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK



Rep. Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.) has promised to reintroduce bill next year and try to pass it over LBJ's veto, if necessary.

President Johnson recently dealt a blow to law enforcement officers everywhere when he vetoed the "omnibus crime bill" for the District of Columbia. Here was an opportunity to do something positive to help the cops in their discouraging war upon crime. Mr. Johnson kissed his chance goodbye.

To be sure, the bill was far from a perfect bill. Many of its supporters—perhaps most of them—had serious reservations about some of its provisions. The President, in his long and self-serving veto message, dwelled at great length upon these shortcomings. He could find nothing good to say of a bill that had occupied some able minds in both House and Senate for the past six years.

Nevada's Sen. Alan Bible, chairman of the Senate District Committee, was understandably bitter. "My only question now," he asked grimly, "is where do we go from here?"

It was a good question, and the President gave him no help in seeking an effective answer. The President ran on about the Administration's great effort to remedy bad housing, poor education and stubborn unemployment.

The President touched upon pilot projects in modern police techniques. He urged better police organization and better-staffed courts. He wound up by granting the District police a nice raise in pay. But none of this went to the heart of an ugliness that afflicts all cities—the brazen thief, the ruthless mugger, the chronic criminal who sneers at rehabilitation.

"We must do everything within our power to protect innocent people from those who seek to harm them," said the President, rolling his eloquent eyes to heaven. Then he vetoed the bill.

In so doing, he yielded to a noisy band of professional liberals whose obsession with "individual rights" has carried them beyond the realm of rational thought. These hot-eyed zealots see virtually no limit to personal freedom. Anything goes.

They cannot discriminate, for discrimination has become a dirty word; thus free speech and filthy speech become all the same thing. The right to engage in peaceable assembly fades tolerantly into a right to riot in the streets. They feed on the assumption that any man who appeals for law and order is a hypocrite: He is not really concerned with law and order; he is really anti-Negro. (This last pearl of pure reason is the peculiar property of the *New Republic* magazine.)

When it comes to crime, the Liberal Establishment begins with the giddy notion that society has no rights which the Constitution is bound to respect. In almost any given case, the red-handed criminal himself is not to blame: Society is to blame. The "innocent people" of Mr. Johnson's pious invocation are not innocent at all. Theirs is known as the deeper guilt: They have failed to provide the housing, the education, the job opportunities, the psychiatric care that might have prevented this smirking lout from raping the old woman. And what did the old woman do to provoke him?

Armed with these defense mechanisms, the lawyers and laymen who entreated the recent veto had no trouble in picking the bill to pieces. Why, one section would have permitted the police to detain a law-abiding citizen for as long as four hours! Another section would have permitted six hours of questioning after a suspect's arrest and prior to his arraignment! A third section would have required judges to impose certain minimum terms in jail! It was horrible, horrible, horrible.

The bill was not that bad. The truth is that no law-abiding person had anything to fear from the four-hour provision. The permissive section dealing with six-hour interrogations contained careful safeguards guaranteeing a right to counsel. The provisions dealing with minimum sentences in certain cases were among the best part of the bill.

This title provided, for example, that sentence could not be suspended, nor probation granted, to any defendant convicted of a crime of violence who already had been convicted of at least one such offense in the past. Here in Washington, almost one out of three defendants in felony cases (and there were 27,000 felony cases last year) is a two-time loser. Why should he be set free to mug again?

In times past, when Congress was more respected, the rule was that the constitutionality of an act of Congress should be assumed until the Supreme Court held otherwise. In his veto of the crime bill, the President discarded this rule.

Another venerable custom has to do with the severability of legislative enactments: If one or two sections are faulty, the rest should be preserved. But the President was not inclined to respect this custom either. His inspired solution was to attack the crime problem, in part at least, by appointing more judges. The people of Washington (and especially the Negro people, who are overwhelmingly the victims of crime) doubtless will be grateful.

Well, the 90th Congress comes on in January. A new version of the omnibus bill doubtless will be offered. And it is a fair surmise that Sen. Bible and his fed-up colleagues will soon risk another veto—and then fight for a two-thirds vote to override.

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Republican gains in the House, *Human Events* said, " . . . could possibly jeopardize the future of such L.B.J. innovations as rent subsidies, the Teacher Corps and demonstration cities project."

(2) **From Group Research, Inc. (*a liberal "intelligence" report*)**

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Staunch Anti-Communist Faces Deportation

While Com[illegible] U.S. gove[illegible]

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

One sometimes wonders what makes this government tick.

Felix Greene is a British citizen who churns out pro-Communist propaganda in the United States with persistent regularity. Aside from writing two full-length books in praise of Red China, he has glorified Mao Tse-tung and his cut-throat crew in a powerful propaganda film called *China!*, a 65-minute color presentation designed to make one forget that Mao's murderous regime has liquidated millions of innocent Chinese, Tibetans, Koreans and Indians in building a "better tomorrow" that looks more like Dante's Hell with each passing day.

Recently, Greene has been leading the cheering section in the United States that roots for Ho Chi Minh's warriors to inflict defeat on the pro-Western forces in South Viet Nam. The Americans, Greene likes to suggest to audiences across the country, are guilty of committing "genocide" in Asia.

Does the United States react angrily to these pro-Communist polemics from a British citizen who has been given the privilege of living in the United States? Perish the thought. Instead, a soft-headed Uncle Sam actually encourages Greene to carry out his propaganda activities here by kindly giving him permanent resident status.

The Treasury Department, generous to its very roots, waived regulations governing imported films so that Greene could show his pro-Mao movie throughout the United States.

When he visited Red China in defiance of the rules, our most forgiving State Department turned the other cheek. The Justice Department, which, according to Sen. Milward Simpson (R.-Wyo.), could have prosecuted him, has not lifted a finger to halt his activities. Deportation proceedings have apparently not been considered.

So happy is Greene with his stay in the United States that he has now decided to become an American citizen. You can hardly blame him. The U.S. has played the perfect host.

Deportation Flouts Law

Consider, however, an entirely different case: A 28-year-old Yugoslav singer of Albanian descent, Mexhdudin Korca, who defected to the United States in May 1965 when he was touring this country with Yugoslavia's Krsmanovich Choir.

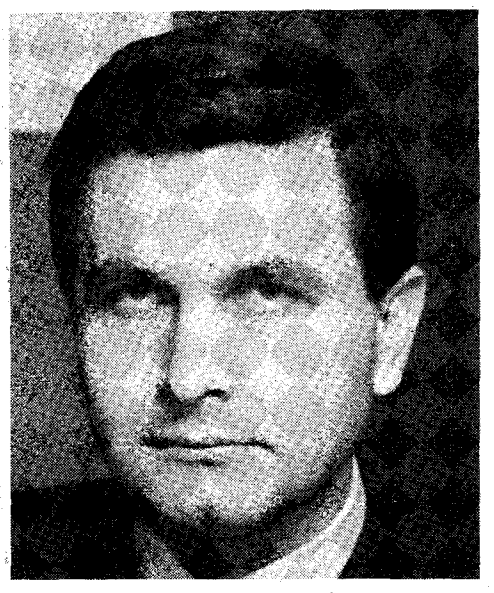
Has the U. S. government welcomed Korca, who fled communism, even Yugoslavia's milder brand, as it has welcomed Greene? Hardly.

On June 15 of this year the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York coldly ordered Korca *deported*—right back to Titoland. His appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington was flatly rejected on October 26.

The immigration authorities' decision to refuse asylum to Korca and to deport him to Communist Yugoslavia is truly extraordinary. Under Section 243(h) of the Immigration Act, the attorney general is authorized "to withhold deportation of any alien within the United States to any country in which in his opinion the alien would be subject to persecution on account of . . . political opinion. . . ."

Furthermore, Section 203(a)(7) provides that conditional entries into the United States shall be made available to aliens "who satisfy an Immigration and Naturalization Service officer at an examination" that they are afraid to

NEW YORK TIMES



Yugoslavia's brand of "moderate communism" was too much for Mexhdudin Korca.

return to Communist or Communist dominated countries because they fear persecution "on account of race, religion or political opinion."

From even a cursory glance at the record, Korca would seem to fall into these categories. At this point a brief personal history may be in order.

Anti-Albanian Moves

Korca's grandfather was a Moslem theologian who died in an Albanian prison after the Communist take-over in November 1944. His father, an officer of the Albanian National Army, was shot by the Communists at about the same time. In 1948 Korca, then 10, and his mother moved to Yugoslavia where they were treated favorably by the authorities for some time. His mother was made a citizen.

He completed his secondary education, became a student at the University of Belgrade and for a short period worked as a teacher. Endowed with a good voice, he became a professional singer.

Despite this favored treatment, however, he became gradually disillusioned with life under Tito's supposedly moderate communism. This feeling was strengthened in 1963 by a wave of mass arrests and trials in the Albanian districts in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavs have long persecuted the Albanians, but the Yugoslav Communists, as Communists everywhere, have stepped up the harassment and zealously hounded those Albanians who have strong religious beliefs and adhere to the Moslem religion.

Defected from Choir

Subsequent to the wave of arrests, the Yugoslav UDB (the secret police) began shadowing Korca, opening his mail and arresting and sharply interrogating many of his friends. Korca, too, became afraid of possible arbitrary arrest.

It was then he decided he must leave the country. Having learned that the Krsmanovich Choir was leaving for America in January 1965, he asked if he could join it on the tour. At the last minute the choir director, a friend of his, permitted him to go.

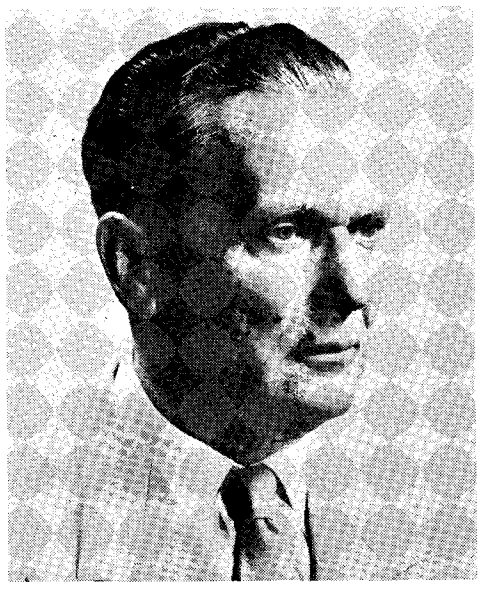
When he arrived in the United States he got in touch with a well-known Albanian refugee, Dr. Hamdi Oruci, who lives on Long Island, N.Y. While traveling with the choir he wrote Dr. Oruci a 10-page confidential memorandum stating how he desperately wanted to stay in the United States because political conditions in Yugoslavia were becoming intolerable.

Dr. Oruci then sought to aid him through the militantly anti-Communist Free Albania Committee. When the choir came to New York City just prior to its returning home, an official of the committee appeared at the Gotham Hotel and whisked Korca away.

Since his defection, Korca, who has been earning his livelihood as a coat checker at Mama Leone's Restaurant on West 48th St. in Manhattan, has been closely associated with the Free Albania Committee and its officers; he has been in touch with other agencies, including the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and he has been a valuable informant on conditions in Kosmet, an Albanian province in Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, the immigration authorities want him to go back to Yugoslavia and state there is no evidence to suggest he would be persecuted if he returned. Can't they read?

Article 109 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code says that any citizen of Yugoslavia who engages in "hostile activity" against the government and establishes contact



Tito's regime has already begun to harass Korca's mother back in Belgrade.

with a foreign state or foreign organization and assists them in the performance of hostile activities, "shall be punished with severe imprisonment."

Article 110 of the code says: "The citizen of Yugoslavia who for purposes of performing hostile activity against his homeland escapes abroad, or prepares to escape, or remains abroad without authorization, shall be punished with severe imprisonment of up to 12 years."

And article 118 states, ". . . whoever represents the social-political conditions in the country maliciously and untruthfully [read: truthfully], shall be punished with severe imprisonment of up to 12 years."

[illegible]

Under any and all of these articles Korca could be prosecuted. Further, witnesses from the Free Albania Committee stated before immigration officials that if by some miracle Korca should not be prosecuted under Yugoslav law, he would nevertheless not be permitted to work again as a teacher or singer or be readmitted to Belgrade University, that the only work he would be allowed to perform would be manual labor.

The persecution, in fact, may already have begun: Last May, according to Korca, his mother lost her job after 18 years as a bookkeeper in a government-owned department store and was turned out of her apartment.

In rejecting the appeal, the board said he might face "prosecution"—not persecution — under certain Yugoslavian statutes, but these statutes, it emphasized, are for crimes recognized in virtually every country.

Charles Sternberg, resettlement director of the International Rescue Committee, which handled the Korca appeal, expressed surprise at the board's reasoning.

"A totalitarian criminal code judges as crime what a democratic one would not," said Sternberg. "For example, it would be unthinkable that such a vague infraction as 'spreading false news' could be prosecuted in the United States."

Many long-time foreign policy observers say that Korca is a victim of government policy which has laid down the fiction that Yugoslavia is somehow neither Communist nor totalitarian.

Yet Yugoslavia is not much different from other Communist nations. Every year, say experts on the flow of international refugees, 10,000 to 25,000 Yugoslavians, risking life and limb, escape Tito's "paradise" to such countries as Italy and Austria (though many are returned, since these nations cannot absorb them). Indeed, more refugees escape from Yugoslavia every year than from any other Communist nation in Europe.

As if to prove its harshness, Yugoslavia just last week jailed six Yugoslavs who collaborated with author Mihajlo Mihajlov on a projected non-Communist literary journal. Mihajlov himself is serving a year's sentence—his second time in prison—for "slandering" the Tito regime.

Nevertheless, the U.S. authorities have decided that Mexhdudin Korca has no real reason to fear persecution.

It will be interesting to see which happens first: Korca's departure from these shores—or Greene's naturalization as a U.S. citizen.

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Exclusive Poll

GOP Delegates Give Views on '68 Candidate

The chart at the right shows the results of a mail poll sent out by *Human Events* on November 8 to all the delegates and alternates to the 1964 Republican National Convention. Of the 2,588 persons questioned, 1,078 have sent back answers. In order to encourage replies, delegates were not asked to sign their names.

The poll shows that, as of now, former Vice President Richard Nixon is the clear preference of these party leaders to receive the nomination, capturing 38 per cent of the ballots compared with 25 per cent for Gov. George Romney. California's governor-elect, Ronald Reagan, is running third, with 13 per cent. (The poll was taken too early to reflect any reaction to Gov. Romney's meeting with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in Puerto Rico last week.)

An even higher percentage of delegates and alternates (44 per cent) feel, regardless of their personal preference, that the convention will actually nominate Nixon. But when asked who would be the GOP's strongest candidate against President Johnson, a narrow plurality gave the nod to Romney.

Most delegates and alternates, it appears, were pleased with the recent election results. Asked if they thought the Republican National Committee has done an effective job of rebuilding the party, 83 per cent answered "yes." And 81 per cent expressed approval of the congressional leadership exercised by Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.).

The poll shows one possible roadblock to Romney's nomination. Of those polled, 27 per cent say they will *not work* for, and 13 per cent say they will *not vote* for, a Republican ticket headed by someone who did not support Sen. Barry Goldwater's presidential bid in 1964. These promises—or threats—of non-cooperation run particularly high in the South and the West, both areas considered vital if the GOP is to regain the White House.

According to the Human Events delegate poll, former Vice President Richard Nixon (above) and Michigan Gov. George Romney are the front runners for the '68 GOP nomination.

		WEST	MIDWEST	SOUTH	EAST	TOTAL
My first preference to receive the 1968 GOP presidential nomination is:	Nixon	40%	39%	42%	21%	38%
	Romney	16%	29%	13%	47%	25%
	Reagan	16%	10%	19%	6%	13%
	Goldwater	10%	5%	8%	3%	6%
	Percy	4%	4%	3%	4%	4%
	Other	11%	9%	9%	15%	10%
	No opinion	3%	4%	6%	4%	4%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
I believe that the 1968 GOP convention will finally nominate:	Nixon	45%	38%	53%	27%	44%
	Romney	31%	39%	23%	55%	35%
	Reagan	8%	5%	10%	4%	7%
	Goldwater	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
	Percy	1%	3%	3%	2%	2%
	Other	6%	4%	4%	4%	4%
	No opinion	9%	10%	7%	8%	8%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
I believe that the candidate who, if nominated, would be the strongest against President Johnson is:	Nixon	33%	26%	40%	20%	30%
	Romney	28%	40%	23%	51%	34%
	Reagan	17%	13%	21%	9%	16%
	Goldwater	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
	Percy	5%	5%	3%	2%	4%
	Other	8%	6%	2%	8%	6%
	No opinion	9%	9%	11%	10%	10%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
I believe that the 1966 elections demonstrate that the Republican National committee has done:	An effective job	80%	83%	81%	89%	83%
	An ineffective job	13%	12%	14%	5%	12%
	No opinion	7%	5%	5%	6%	5%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
I believe that the House and Senate GOP leadership has done:	An effective job	82%	81%	85%	72%	81%
	An ineffective job	12%	16%	13%	20%	15%
	No opinion	6%	3%	2%	8%	4%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
If the 1968 GOP presidential nominee is someone who did not support the 1964 Goldwater-Miller ticket, I will:	Actively work for him	55%	71%	58%	85%	66%
	Refuse to work for him	35%	24%	37%	10%	27%
	No opinion	10%	5%	5%	5%	7%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	Vote for him	79%	84%	74%	83%	80%
	Not vote for him	16%	11%	17%	8%	13%
	No opinion	5%	5%	9%	9%	7%
	TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

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One Dollar Political Check-Off Is Bad Plan

By HENRY HAZLITT

President Johnson signed the foreign investors tax bill with strong reservations, but endorsed its most pernicious provision—the "voluntary" allocation by taxpayers of $1 of their income tax to presidential campaigns.

Under this provision taxpayers, starting in 1968, will check a box in their individual income tax returns if they want $1 of their taxes to go into a presidential campaign fund. Couples filing joint returns can check off $2.

Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) has pointed out danger in letting each taxpayer decide who his money will—or will not—be used for.

Every four years the two major political parties, subject to certain limitations, will be entitled to equal shares of the fund. The formula is expected to provide $35 million each for the Democratic and Republican parties in the 1968 presidential election.

A third party could share proceeds of the fund only if it received as many as five million votes in the preceding election. (None has done so in more than 40 years.)

If this provision seems innocent to many, it is chiefly because the amount involved is small for the individual taxpayer. Yet the principle involved is vicious.

Nominally this allocation is "voluntary." But is it? Anyone is already free to send 50 cents to each political party without prompting on his income tax blank. But the new law would not be necessary if people had already been doing that. In fact, practically nobody, not looking for special favors, contributes equal amounts to *both* parties. Nearly all of us who are for one party are against the other.

But the taxpayer, when he finds this box to fill in on his income tax, is going to feel under pressure. Both the President and the Congress majority want him to give the dollar. If he doesn't do it, will his income tax be examined more hostilely? It apparently costs him nothing to play it safe.

If the amount involved were substantially larger, the dubious nature of this "voluntary" campaign contribution would be more obvious. Then the taxpayer would realize that the same amount of money must still be spent for the thousands of other purposes for which it has been appropriated and that the campaign contribution is in fact not *instead* of some other expenditure but *in addition* to all other expenditures and, therefore, eventually an addition to the taxpayers' payment. He is not, in fact, as he is being led to believe, making a campaign contribution at no cost to himself.

Sen. Albert Gore, in his commendable fight against the provision, said it would set a dangerous precedent by "authorizing individual taxpayers to appropriate funds for a purpose of their own choosing." This is true. Suppose the precedent were turned around and allowed the individual taxpayer to deduct any part of his tax that was to be used for a purpose of which he did not approve—say foreign aid. Such a plan would be fatal to revenues. But at least the taxpayer would be made aware of how much additional tax foreign aid was costing him.

In all honesty, the $1 campaign contribution, if authorized, ought to be an addition to the taxpayer's tax.

The scheme in its present form should be repealed. If it is not, its constitutionality should be immediately challenged. It discriminates against minority parties, denies equal protection of the laws and assigns public funds for private partisan purposes.

The problem of campaign funds for poor candidates, especially for the "outs" and those not backed by big business or big labor, is real enough. But this income tax check-off is not a legitimate solution.

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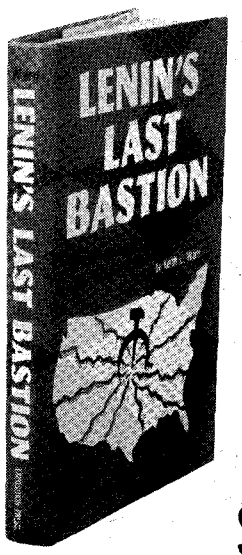
A BRAVE NEW BOOK



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Ripon Society and Republicans for Progress

Two GOP Paper Dragons Provided Comic Relief

By BARRY GOLDWATER

If there was any comic relief in the elections, it must have been that, once again, two paper dragons of the Republican party roared and snorted, puffed fire and smoke and actually fooled a number of newspapers into taking them seriously.

The two are the Ripon Society and the Republicans for Progress. If their total, paid-up memberships were scrambled together and served on a platter there wouldn't be enough real political calories on the table to feed even a moderately hungry state chairman.

The Ripon Society is scarcely anything but a personal front for John Saloma Jr., a political science professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Republicans for Progress is just another in the fairly long line of organizational assaults against the regular Republican party structure organized, led and chiefly manned by Charles P. Taft, the Taft family's liberal black sheep, and his public relations consultants.

These groups are not so much splinter groups as they are merely thorn groups, but they manage to huff and puff enough to get newspaper coverage. For the past months they have huffed and puffed together, to double the decibels. Newspaper accounts of their grave statements usually began with "Two national organizations of moderate Republicans" or something of the sort.

The stories, edited and accepted by men who are perfectly willing to see a Bircher under every bed, without any corroborating membership figures, easily accept the statement that these two organizations are national, meaningful, moderate and Republican.

Having a few pen pals in the various states hardly makes a group national; simply suggesting that Republicans adopt more and more Democratic programs, or go to the left of them, hardly makes a group meaningful, original or even Republican; trying to parlay nothing but publicity breaks into an appearance of organizational or philosophical significance hardly marks a moderate approach. It is, in fact, exactly the approach for which many "extremist" groups are so bitterly criticized.

At any rate, these two musical comedy contributions to high drama in the Republican party got away with it again during the elections by having the cheek to issue their own lists of "endorsed" candidates.

To my amazement, some papers not only reported this footnote to political history, but actually printed both lists, an exercise in typographic wheel-spinning that takes about 17 inches of fine print. These papers must now anxiously be awaiting the report in which these two groups either take credit for winning some elections or bemoan the fact that so many regular Republicans won.

In either case they will be dealing in political illusion rather than reality.

The next time their duplicating machines start whirring, it would seem to me most appropriate for responsible Republicans to blow the whistle on them, lest someone, somewhere make the mistake of continuing to take them seriously.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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PENTAGON "ECONOMY": The comptroller general's office reports that a number of F-100 jet fighters have crashed because the Air Force did did not carry out its own orders. Orders were issued to modify or replace faulty parts but months—even years—later the order had not been carried out.

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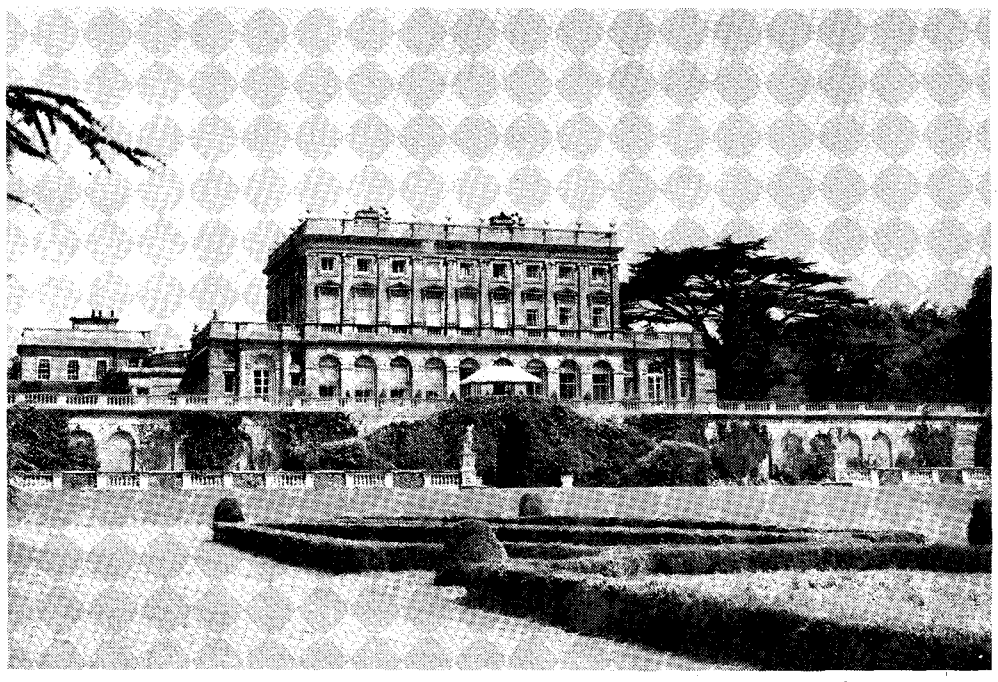

LORD REUTHER OF CLIVEDEN? CENTRAL PRESS

Labor leaders don't like to admit it, but when a good union man makes enough money, he eventually tries to become an aristocrat. At least that appears to be the case in Great Britain where the Amalgamated Engineering Union is dickering with the Labor government to lease Cliveden, the famous home of the late Viscount Astor. The union, in cooperation with Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers, wants to use Cliveden as an Anglo-American trade union center. The estate, scene of many meetings of the pre-war "Cliveden Set," is held in trust by the government, which may now want to find new tenants or make the house a museum since the executors of Viscount Astor's will have decided to give up their lease. We can only speculate as to what the remaining English nobility thinks of historic Cliveden being turned into a union hall.

Is 'Actor' a Swear Word?

By DONALD I. ROGERS

It is an ancient national rite as well as a sacred American right to poke fun at elected officials and, if it serves a political advantage, to hold them up to ridicule.

Now that California Gov. Ronald Reagan has emerged as a national Republican figure, along with Michigan Gov. George Romney and Illinois Sen. Charles Percy, the time has come to speak out against an insidious bit of political trickery calculated to impair the Reagan image before the voters.

There is something about the way several of the TV newscasters have consistently referred to Reagan as "the actor, Ronald Reagan," that has been annoying to a great number of Americans who have a fondness for fair play. There is too much of a hint of condescension in the way that the words "the actor" are spoken, as though acting and becoming a star were just a shade less than respectable.

The qualifications for high political office do not seem to be rooted strongly in non-political, commercial or professional life, and what a man does for a living, as long as he's successful at it, has heretofore had little bearing on his consideration for political office.

You never hear them referring to "the druggist, Hubert Humphrey," or "the farmer, Lyndon Johnson," or "the merchant, Barry Goldwater," or the "college professor, Willard Wirtz" or "the millionaire, Bobby Kennedy" or "the camera maker, Chuck Percy," or "the industrial accountant, George Romney."

No one thinks Hubert Humphrey is unqualified to be President of the United States—and a heartbeat separates him from the office—because he was a druggist in his non-political life. Is acting less qualifying for the job?

Reagan's opponent, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, is a lawyer, a former district attorney and attorney general. His specialty was trial law, which, too, is a form of acting. Not much can beat the drama of a courtroom trial. In legislative offices it might be considered that lawyers have an edge on qualifications, since they are familiar with law, if not with lawmaking. When seeking an administrative post such as governor, however, they have no competitive advantage whatsoever. Some of the best lawyers might make poor administrators.

As far as administrative ability is concerned, Reagan has handled his own affairs in an enviable manner and has emerged a millionaire, self-made, at a time in life when he has many years remaining to devote to other endeavors, if he chooses. There's nothing about that record to evoke any condescension on the part of the newscasters.

The amusing part of it all is that most of the television stars who persistently refer to California's new governor as "the actor, Ronald Reagan," are, themselves, professional performers rather than newsmen. Their assignment is to create a "personality" out of the broadcaster's role.

It can't be said that Reagan needs to be identified as "the actor." The Gallup poll shows that he is known and readily identified by 76 per cent of the American public—a higher rating than any other political figure in the nation except President Johnson.

As an Easterner I hold no particular torch aloft for Gov. Reagan, but I am constrained to speak out for those Americans who would like to see fair play in the news media.

(Copyright 1966, Independent Features Synd.)

Portugal Confused by U.S. Stand on Angola

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Lisbon:—The issue now dividing Portugal and the United States is Angola, a Portuguese province in southwestern Africa. The United States has, in violation of the protocol that exists among friendly nations, allowed Angolan terrorists to raise money within our borders and to launch attacks against the Portuguese government. At the same time the situation in Angola is obscured or misrepresented by American officials who seem to be consistently misinformed.

The Portuguese attitude about the mixture of races is one which would jolt many Americans by its extreme liberality. This has been translated into action. Angola, as well as the other Portuguese overseas provinces, is considered an integral part of metropolitan Portugal. The right to vote, for example, is based on exactly the same law in Portugal and in the overseas provinces. The franchise in both places is limited, as it is in most democratic countries, however.

The voter must be over 21 years old. And he must meet any one of three conditions: (1) he must be able to read and write, or (2) he must be the head of the family, or (3) he must pay taxes in the amount of roughly $10 a year. If any one of these three conditions is met, the franchise can be exercised by white man or black.

But are the Portuguese in Angola working to help the Africans meet any of these conditions? The answer to that can always be found in education. And the Portuguese note that Angola has the second highest enrollment proportionally of any African nation. They have, in the past years, set up a full educational system—from elementary school through university – allowing Angolan Negroes to get the advanced training they need at home instead of in metropolitan Portugal.

The index of Portugal's concern for economic opportunity is in its efforts to increase the wealth and productivity of Angola, for Angola itself. White Portuguese who settle in that overseas possession are not allowed to go into any get-rich-quick operations. The money they make there must be invested and re-invested within Angola's borders to create new jobs, which in turn raise the standard of living.

This picture hardly conforms with the lurid accounts of exploitation and repression brought to the United States by missionarying terrorists—some of them trained behind the Iron Curtain.

Whether or not Portugal is moving as rapidly toward self-government for Angola as it claims, there are some facts which the more pragmatic American might consider. These were stressed by the very high government official who discussed the situation with me here in Lisbon.

"Has the process of de-colonization in Africa brought more freedom and greater welfare to the African people? Are they better off now than they were before? And are they really de-colonized, or have they simply changed masters?" The questions almost answer themselves. "De-colonized Africa," the high official said, "is not enjoying human rights, representative government, or any other of the *sine qua nons* that were expected when France, Britain and Belgium withdrew. Under present conditions it is less likely, rather than the opposite, that it will achieve these goals."

A look at "free" Africa confirms this. Dictatorial regimes are the rule rather than the exception among the "emerging" nations. In Brazzaville, Cuban soldiers dominate the country and administer it. Chinese Communist advisers continue to work from behind the scenes—and reports that their influence was diminishing are grossly inaccurate. Tanzania, the former British colony of Tanganyika, is a vast Communist base—and so is Zanzibar.

With this in mind, the high official's questions become pertinent and pressing. "In case of war," he asked, "will the soldiers of Ghana and Guinea fight for the United States?" The answer is clearly in the negative. But if American policy continues to be one of attacking friends in order to please enemies, will those NATO countries which have felt the edge of American disapproval come to the aid of a beleaguered America?

The high official, who can speak with authority, suggested that in this case, also, the answer would be no. And what of the United Nations? If it presses for military and/or economic sanctions against South Africa, there is a likelihood that Portugal will withdraw along with other European nations. That withdrawal, the high official said, "is very much in our minds if there should be military action."

But there is a bright side, too. With Arab unity rapidly vanishing and the new African "nations" beginning to growl at one another, the much vaunted anti-Western bloc may be coming apart. "Time," the high official said, "is on our side."

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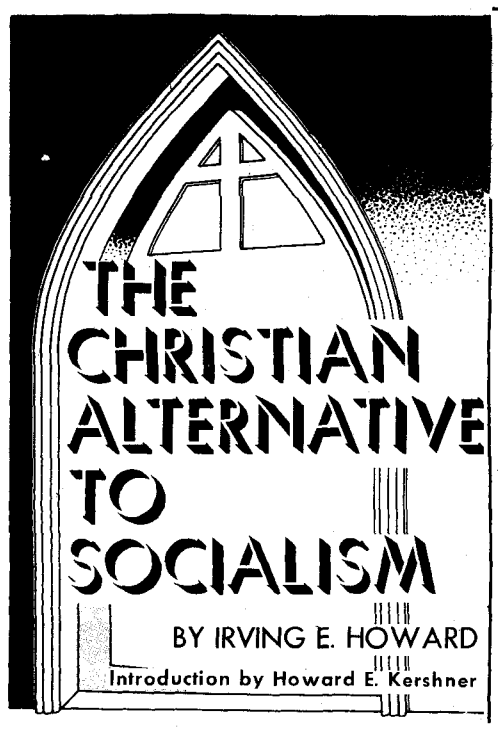

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Second-Generation Marxists Bring New Blood to U.S. Group

Fresh blood is flowing through the tired arteries of the Communist Party, U. S. A. The sons and daughters of veteran party members are moving into positions of leadership, giving new impetus to the Communist movement.

"Youth will determine the future," top U.S. Red Eugene Dennis once said. Dennis is dead, but the family tradition is carried on by Gene Jr., a graduate of the University of Wisconsin now active in the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Others following in their father's footsteps include Bettina Aptheker, daughter of the party's official theoretician, Herbert Aptheker; "Muffy" North, daughter of a *Worker* columnist, Joe North, once implicated in Soviet espionage; Mike Eisenscher, son of top-ranking Midwest Red Sigmund Eisenscher; and Margaret Clara Lima, daughter of Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, chairman of the Northern California Communist party.

Typical of the second generation comrades is Timothy "Tim" Wheeler, who entered the party while a teen-ager. Wheeler's dedication to the Communist movement is hardly surprising: His father, identified as a member of a World War II Soviet spy ring, remains a party member in good standing, as does his mother. An uncle, George Shaw Wheeler, took asylum in Communist Czechoslovakia in 1947, bringing his family with him. Tim's sister, Susan, and her husband, Donald Lee Hamerquist, are both members of the Communist party. Donald, in fact, is a party functionary in Oregon.

Tim Wheeler entered the party in 1959 and plunged into youth work, leading protests against the Civil Defense and Selective Service systems. (Wheeler is "safe" from the draft, having been classified as unacceptable for induction on the basis of national security interests.)

Party general secretary Gus Hall took a personal interest in young Wheeler when he helped arrange Hall's speech to University of Washington students in 1962. Later, Hall rewarded Wheeler by naming him a delegate to the Kremlin-controlled World Youth Festival in Helsinki.

Wheeler was unable to make the trip, but he became a full-time party worker after his graduation from Amherst College in 1964. Wheeler was sent into the party-spawned DuBois Clubs, organizing protests against U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

Earlier this year, Hall brought Wheeler to party headquarters in New York, where he works on youth matters and churns out copy for the party's official organ, the *Worker*. At the Communist Party National Convention in late June, he was hand-picked by Hall for "election" to the party's national committee.

Susan Witkovsky is another of the "Red diaper babies" moving up the party ladder. At the time of her birth both of her parents were members of the Communist party, although they have gradually dropped out of the movement.

Susan entered the University of California at Berkeley after graduating from a Los Angeles high school. In 1960 a fellow student introduced her to a party recruiter and Susan was soon a dedicated Communist.

After organizing Marxist discussion groups for a year, Susan was transferred to New York by party boss Hall. Within a few months she married Marvin Markman, a promising young comrade who had been tabbed for party leadership by Hall. The marriage subsequently failed and Susan sued for divorce.

Despite the breakup, she continued her party duties. While in New York she worked in the party's national headquarters and for a Communist front euphemistically named the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. She also worked in several party-controlled youth groups, including Burning Issues, Advance and the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee.

Susan was transferred back to San Francisco in May 1964. There she served as a representative of the party's district committee at chapter meetings of the supposedly independent DuBois Clubs. She organized indoctrination sessions for young recruits.

During the early part of 1965 Susan was sent to represent a Bay Area "peace" group in White House demonstrations against the Vietnamese war. In June of that year she "graduated" from a top-secret training school held for the party's youth leaders in northern New Jersey. Since then, she has traveled the country recruiting party members, organizing protests, and lecturing newcomers on class warfare.

Ironically, a number of "Red diaper babies" have renounced the pro-Soviet party of their parents for the Peking-line Progressive Labor party. Among them is Freddy Jerome, *son of the Communist party's* late "cultural commissar," V. J. Jerome.

Freddy became an active Communist while others his age were first double-dating. At 14, he entered the Communist-front Labor Youth League, and shortly thereafter graduated to party membership. At 16, he visited the Communist-bloc countries of Eastern Europe and at 18 was given an alias by party superiors. As "Walter Hirsch," he helped organize the U.S. delegation to the 6th World Youth Festival at Moscow.

Three times in 1960, while on the payroll of the Communist party, Jerome visited Castro Cuba. In subsequent House testimony he took the 5th Amendment when asked if he had acted as a Communist courier in shuttling between Havana and New York.

But Jerome became disillusioned with the Communist party, asserting it lacked revolutionary zeal. When other dissidents broke away and formed the ultra-militant Progressive Labor party, Jerome joined them. He took with him his younger brother, Carl and his mother.

□ □ □

BITTER PRICE—The case of Uruguay illustrates the "benefits" of just a little inflation. That country for several years has been enjoying "Great Society" style government—more spending, competition with industry, growing national debt and more and more centralized government. And what have been the results? "Now it's time to pay the inevitable price," says *Newsweek* magazine. "Cost of living up 400 per cent, value of its peso down in five years from 9 cents to 1.5 cents. Savings, life insurance, bonds worth less and less. Always the bitter price of the welfare state."—Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa)

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara answers questions from Harvard students after some of them had blocked his car as it was leaving the campus.

Harass All 'Militarists'

'New Left' Pattern for 1966-67

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The contagion that is the New Left has assumed its pattern for the 1966-67 college year. For the moment, "teach-ins" are out. The tactic now is to round up the stooges on campus and march them out to assail any "militarist" connected with the CIA or the Pentagon who happens to be within shouting distance of university lecture halls.

Thus, at Harvard, the kids who go for the New Left's own type of conformism tried to "savage" Secretary of Defense McNamara during his visit to Cambridge. There was a similar gang-up on Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when he spoke in Pembroke Auditorium at Brown University in Providence, R.I. At Columbia, in New York City, 200 angry student doves unleashed their incongruous claws and went for a CIA recruiter, Harry Russell, who had come to interview undergraduate aspirants to careers in the intelligence service.

The whole business has been very unmannerly in a completely patterned way. It lends force to the reflection that nobody on the New Left ever does anything that is the least original; the kids have to huddle for their signals just like Rotarians or the Loyal Order of Moose in a Sinclair Lewis novel.

The tip-off to the 1966-67 drive of the conforming New Leftist non-conformists came last summer when a dilatory student, working in cahoots with *Ramparts* magazine, informed the world that the course listed as Political Science 551 in the University of Pennsylvania catalogue was "a course for spies."

It so happens that "Poli Sci 551" at Pennsylvania is taught by a unique husband-wife team, Professors George and Charlotte Dyer, who worked together throughout World War II and the Korean War doing intelligence work for the U.S. Army.

The official name of the course is "Strategic Intelligence and National Policy," and it has been in the Penn catalogue for 10 years. The course has been an absolutely open one in a free university for which, as Prof. Dyer points out, students register under their own names. If this is the way American spies are made, we may be sure that the Soviet Union has entered some of its own supporters in the Dyers' course.

Some years ago I happened to sit in for a session of the Dyers' class. The partners in this husband-wife team were about as far from being James Bond characters as you could imagine.

The assumption behind the course seemed to be that nations, if they hope to remain free, must have accurate knowledge about the strengths and weaknesses, the capacities and intentions, of their most likely enemies. What the Dyers were trying to do was to teach students how to piece together available information about a possible enemy into a mosaic that would be of some use to both political and military policy makers.

In short, they were teaching kids how to use their brains, which is surely a university function. And, partly to rescue the course from dryness, partly to teach the students something about the nature of the violent century in which we have been living, the Dyers held occasional military-political field maneuvers jointly with the ROTC, re-enacting such historical happenings as the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto or a battle in the Mekong Delta. Participation in the field maneuvers was voluntary. It was also fun.

Ramparts magazine, hearing about the Dyers' course and other "militarist" activities at Penn, proceeded to jump all over the university. Since *Ramparts* is the house organ of the New Left, a student in the Dyers' course, trying to piece "intelligence" together, might logically conclude that the signal had gone out to "get" any university activity that stems from the philosopher Spinoza's belief that the first duty of a state is to maintain itself in freedom.

The events of the autumn, with the rude and crude attempts of the New Left to block the free speech of Secretary McNamara at Harvard, Gen. Wheeler at Brown, and CIA recruiter Russell at Columbia, show that some sort of Leftist concert exists.

It takes training in the Dyers' approach to things to see how this pattern fits in with the Communists' drive to force America to abandon its friends in South Viet Nam and elsewhere.

What this country needs, then, is a course in "Strategic Intelligence and National Policy" in every university in the land. Too bad we don't have more Dyers.

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'Cold War Is Over'

Walter Lippmann Is Back — With Same Old Story

By FREDERIC NELSON

Walter Lippmann is home again and, as usual, convinced that his own countrymen are far from "with it." He feels that the U.S.A. is in a frightful state of mental stagnation because of "the fact that since President Kennedy's death our foreign policy has been conducted by men whose minds were formed and whose convictions hardened about 25 years ago. So I come back home thinking how much we have to do in order to catch up with the world that is passing us by."

Lacking Mr. Lippmann's travel schedule, I have no idea where he found these places that are "passing us by." Surely it can't be Harold Wilson's Socialist England, whose leaders talk a lot about how obsolete capitalism is, but are having a frightful struggle to make ends meet on watered-down Socialist principles.

DeGaulle's France is, to be sure, doing its best to accept Mr. Lippmann's judgment that NATO is decaying because "there is a resounding indifference and lack of interest in the traditional rhetoric of power politics"—meaning that there is no longer a threat of Communist aggression from the East. However, Big Charley's effort to appease the giant hardly disposes of his existence. I have been in Europe enough to know that many prominent people talk about Communist Russia as if they wished it wasn't there—a natural prelude to denunciations of American policy as backward-looking and unrealistic.

The cold war, of course, is cold turkey as far as Mr. Lippmann's foreign informers are concerned. Since "capitalism, as it was understood at the beginning of this century, and as it is still understood by romantic reactionaries like Barry Goldwater" is dead, according to him, what is the sense of having a cold war about it? "Only a pedant," says Mr. Lippmann, "or a fanatic could pretend to draw a line where the market economy ends and central planning begins." Only a pedant or a fanatic or perchance a businessman who finds his market operations bugged by endless obstructions by central planners!

As to communism, even that nonsense hardly resembles what Marx and Lenin had in mind—for one reason: because the Communist bureaucrats, beginning to share a little of the knowledge of capitalism possessed by "romantic reactionaries like Barry Goldwater," have decreed that small doses of capitalism are what the Communists need to keep alive, and in the saddle!

Well, all this Walter Lippmann could have found out by staying at home and reading other columns. By doing so, and standing aloof from some self-deluding politicians in Europe, he might also have noticed that changes in the economic practices in Communist and capitalist states have little bearing on the power struggle which is called the cold war.

The West is not resisting Communist attack in Southeast Asia, and standing guard against possible attack in Eastern Europe because of differences in commercial practices. Who would risk the life of a single young man to convince the Russians that the A. & P. serves the people more effectively than a state-owned retail store does?

Mr. Nelson, a former editor of the Saturday Evening Post, *is a frequent contributor to* Human Events.

What we are up against is something else: a relentless and constant subversion, internal and external, of our institutions and defenses, with conquest and worldwide dictatorial control as the ultimate objective.

This view, says Mr. Lippmann, is old hat. The "right people" no longer believe it. "The proof of this is that the United States, Britain and Germany are arguing about the exchange cost of their troops. If they believed those troops were vital to their security, the argument would be regarded as disgraceful."

This "proof" may convince Lippmann, but it seems to have failed to move the Kremlin which, according to information revealed probably when Walter was on the way home, is increasing its missile strength and has almost certainly completed an anti-missile defense.

You may recall the high-dome opinion, seriously debated in Washington, that our side should not work on an anti-missile defense because that might provoke the Russians sufficiently to make them go all out in missile production. It looks as if Soviet military authorities didn't care whether the cold war was dismissed as "Really, you're not serious!" by Western sophisticates. Communist activity in armament is not what Lippmann was talking about when he noted that the world was "passing us by."

When Mr. Lippmann has been in the country a little longer he will discover that too many people in high places are thinking the way he does. President Johnson, while talking big about defending the South Vietnamese against Red aggression, also talks about building bridges to the USSR by means of trade—in "non-strategic" materials, of course.

Business and industrial leaders are vying with each other to get into the act. According to *Forbes* magazine (Oct. 1, 1966), the Fiat deal to make automobiles for Soviet citizens, and maybe soldiers, depends largely on American support. "Three quarters of the machinery that Fiat installs for the Russians will come from the United States, either directly or indirectly, through European subsidiaries and licensees. It will really be the United States that puts the Russians on wheels." *Forbes* predicts that "the psychological and economic impact of the U.S. government's decision to permit the export of machine tools to Russia is also hard to estimate, for it could set a precedent that would throw wide open the gates to East-West trade."

It would be reassuring to some of us hesitant squares if the 25-year-old thinking which disturbs Lippmann so profoundly were more in evidence. He didn't have to go to Europe to discover that a good many people hope to make money by convincing themselves that the cold war is a figment of right-wing extremist propaganda. We'll know later.

It is doubtful if even this evidence would have dissuaded Lippmann from telling his fellow citizens that they don't think modern. That has been an *idée fixe* with him for a long time.

I just dug up a piece he did for *Look* magazine (Jan. 21, 1958) after the Russians had launched their first Sputnik. This event confirmed Walter's worst suspicions. It might not mean that we were in for a military disaster, but "it certainly does mean that, as compared with out great rival and adversary, we are at this time in a decline." We have to "accept the fact that not only have we fallen behind, but that, as things are now [Ah, that saving phrase!] we shall continue to fall behind." Worse, we shall have to do a "reappraisal in depth of our cultural values and of our policies."

Columnist Lippmann degrades America, says much of the world "is passing us by."

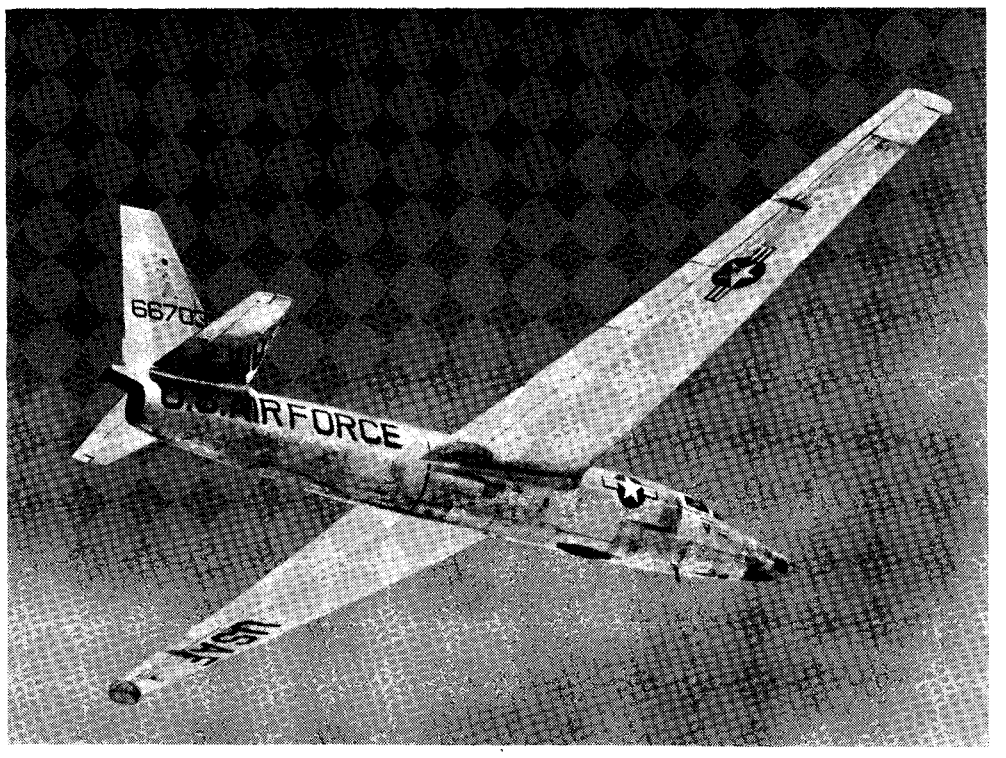
Somehow we survived Sputnik and Lippmann-ordered inferiority that time, but only two years later came the unfortunate crash of our U-2 observation plane in Soviet territory.

Although Chairman Khrushchev had undoubtedly known all about these overflights for some time, he went into a tantrum, cancelled a summit conference which he had been trying to get out of anyway, and set Walter Lippmann off into a tizzy like you never heard. "In a situation like ours, the damage to our prestige would be irreparable if we all rallied around the President and pretended to think that there was nothing seriously wrong. . . . It is the dissenters and the critics and the opposition who can restore the world's respect for American competence."

As a matter of record, the President had such a hard time rallying around himself that one trembled to think what must have happened to foreign respect for our competence. Readers of Lippmann must have wondered about his competence to discuss espionage techniques at all. "Unhappily," he wrote, "the top people forgot to say anything about the 'exercise' to their press officers"!

Now, really! James Bond and the "Secret Agent" boys don't operate that way, but the lack of a press release to precede a spy mission gave W. L. a stick to beat poor Eisenhower with. Think of "rallying around" a President who sent a spy on his way without informing the newspapers!

Anyway, when Walter Lippmann calls off a cold war, it's no time to throw hats in the air. So far, the other side doesn't look interested.



The U-2 incident in 1960 set Lippmann to complaining that President Eisenhower had authorized the CIA overflights without informing the newspapers beforehand.

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Coroner's Report: Election Post-Mortem

By MORRIE RYSKIND

It isn't always easy to analyze a by-election, since the outcome in various areas is so often determined by strictly local issues peculiar to the region.

Not this time, however. When the campaign oratory was over and it was the electorate's turn to speak, they said in a loud, clear voice, "Throw the rascals out!" And that, North, South, East and West, is precisely what they did.

Not that all who went overboard were rascals, by any means. But, in one way or another, they had become identified, if only as apologists, with the political Cosa Nostra hell-bent on constructing an America in the mob's own image, a benevolent despotism which would homogenize us all by dictating to us from the cradle to the grave.

The people had had enough—more than enough—and they did what came naturally. They turned away from the party in power and embraced Republicans, any kinds, all kinds—Goldwater Republicans, Nixon Republicans, Rockefeller Republicans, Romney Republicans. It was a case of any port in a storm and they did not stop to split hairs. It was a day on which even Harold Stassen might have won office.

It was ironic, on election night, to watch the TV Establishment detail the extent of the liberal rout. An occasional local commentator did not seem precisely heartbroken at the way things were going, but at the headquarters of the big three, CBS, NBC and ABC, the strain was evident. In what surely must go down as a classic Freudian slip, one of the objective newscasters said, "But here is some good news," as he recited some figures showing a liberal Democrat had retained his seat.

California, where the polls closed late, was the last straw. The boys were braced against a possible victory for Reagan, but hoped to salvage enough to claim a moral victory. But when here, too, it began to turn into a GOP landslide, I half expected a mass hari-kari.

Even the usually urbane Eric Sevareid lost his composure and began explaining that the vote was due to backlash and that an immense number of Southerners had recently migrated to California, carrying their segregationist feelings with them. Following that argument, it would appear that Southerners had also migrated in droves to the Midwest and gone as far north as Michigan and Alaska, thus leaving Dixie just a desolate collection of ghost towns Stokely Carmichael wouldn't bother overcoming.

There was backlash vote without any doubt, but it was a backlash without a color line. A people who had fought several wars abroad to make the world safe for democracy thought it was high time to make their own streets safe for themselves and their families. It was a backlash for law and order and a backlash against Molotov cocktails, even when thrown in the name of "peaceable assemblage."

In New York City the Negroes and Puerto Ricans, as well as Caucasians, voted for the police and against a civilian review board because the overwhelming majority wanted protection against the thugs—of whatever race—who have turned the celebrated sidewalks of New York into a No Man's Land beset with booby traps.

They want a "Fun City" as much as Mayor Lindsay and Bobby Kennedy and Jacob Javits, but they don't see much fun in a town where more than 187,000 major crimes occur annually, some 16,000 of which are felonious assaults.

In Massachusetts, where Negroes comprise only 2 per cent of the population, a colored senator was elected for the same reason Willie Mays makes everybody's all-star team—the folks thought he deserved it.

In all his life Edward W. Brooke has never asked for a handout or a vote because he was colored and therefore underprivileged and disadvantaged, and so entitled to special consideration. He has never stomped over his neighbor's lawn nor hurled a Molotov cocktail to obtain his "rights."

He ran for office not as a Negro, but as an American who thought himself qualified, offering his credentials to the people. And it was on those grounds that he was elected.

If that is backlash, say I, let's have *more of it.*

(Copyright 1966, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

Southern GOP Is Vigorous Hybrid

By PAUL HARVEY

I have never believed all saints or all sinners are in any one political party. Any "in's," in too long, are weakened by inbreeding.

During the last days of the second Truman Administration, this weakness was most obvious. The "deep-freezers" scandal involved a White House jester. Hot perfume was being peddled by an ex-bootblack on White House telephones. The Binaggio killing, in Kansas City, was traced virtually to the White House doorstep.

So toxic had "the mess in Washington" become that only a massive regurgitation could save us.

It was at this important crossroads in our nation's political history that I was speaking one evening in Hattiesburg, Miss. Afterward, a dear little woman of 70-some summers approached to shake my hand.

"Mr. Harvey," she said, "I want you to know that I agree with everything you said."

"Thank you," I replied.

"But," she went on, "I also want you to know that my grandmother was a Baptist and my mother was a Baptist and I am a Baptist. My grandfather was a Democrat, my father was a Democrat—and I am a Democrat. And, Mr. Harvey, it makes no difference what you say, you are not going to change my religion and you are not going to change my politics!"

When I had recomposed myself, I said "Ma'am, let me ask you this: Suppose the next convention of Democrats nominates the Devil himself to run for President of the United States. Then what are you, as a good Baptist, going to do?"

She said, "If they nominate the Devil himself?"

She hesitated, tilted her pretty head, hesitated again and said, "Well . . . then I'd have to think about it."

The indelible devotion of old-time

Howard (Bo) Callaway lost gubernatorial majority because some Georgia Democrats could not bring themselves to vote Republican.

Southerners to the Democratic party, dating back to the Un-Civil War, was reinforced by the Warren Court.

This last election you saw Republicans running and some winning in states as far south as Florida. But it wasn't easy for traditional Dixiecrats to put an X opposite "that unmentionable word."

In Georgia, as I interpret what happened, a decisive 6 per cent of the electorate preferred Callaway, but could not bring themselves to vote for "Republican Callaway," and so wrote in Arnall's name.

Republican Martin, in Alabama, was similarly handicapped by "that word," though this was a lesser factor in that race.

The ice is not all melted, but it is broken. Unless Republicans, nationally, promote candidates who thumb their noses at the South, "that word" will appear on more and more ballots every election. Nationally this will improve our political "balance," so that when the time comes to vote the "rascals"—of either party—out, Dixie can help.

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Dismemberment of the Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, left, is already taking place. Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) may well try to hasten the process.

OEO Doomed in New Congress

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Office of Economic Opportunity, the trouble-racked anti-poverty agency for which Congress has voted $3.89 billion since 1964, is doomed.

Its fate was sealed by the decisive Republican election victory.

Long under heavy fire both in and out of Congress on numerous grounds—persistent bungling, mismanagement and dissension, waste, extravagance, political finagling and assorted scandals—OEO is definitely headed for either complete junking or drastic dismemberment.

Privately, both Republican and Democratic congressional leaders are evincing determination to wield the ax. Exactly what will be done is still in the making.

But they are leaving no doubt that this battered and tattered progeny of the "Great Society" is due for hard-handed consideration by the 90th Congress that convenes in January.

This strong bipartisan congressional disapproval is indirectly reflected in high Administration quarters.

It is significant that President Johnson has said nothing about OEO and its future. White House assistants make no secret of their unhappiness over the frequent headlined press reports of anti-poverty controversies and disturbances, and OEO's widespread unfavorable public image.

Strongly indicative of what is shaping up behind the scenes are the following:

• Flurries of backstage reports that OEO Director Sargent Shriver will quit by the end of the year. Since July eight top officials have departed. In the two years of the agency's stormy existence there has been a virtual 100 per cent turnover in its upper brackets.

• Dismemberment of OEO already is well under way: Small business loans have been shifted to the Small Business Administration; adult basic education to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; work experience program for training unemployed parents with dependent children to the Labor Department—which is already running the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

• Sharp controversy inside OEO over "spinning off" three other manpower training programs with $100 million in funds. Deputy OEO Director Bertrand Harding has been discussing that with assistant Labor Secretary Stanley Ruttenberg. But Theodore Berry, OEO community action chief, and other officials are against the move and the outcome is still up in the air.

• The Department of Housing and Urban Development has its eye on other OEO programs—with a good chance to get them due to influential congressional support.

• Representatives William Ayres (R.-Ohio) and Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), their party's leaders on anti-poverty legislation, are reviewing the "Opportunity Crusade" which the GOP proposed at the recent session as a substitute for OEO. Designed to save some $500 million, aim of the plan is to "place more emphasis on state and local responsibility" and the participation of private industry.

• Also, the "Opportunity Crusade" would replace the strife-torn Job Corps with an Industry Youth Corps under which "private employers would be given a realistic incentive to hire untrained young people between 16 and 22, with one-third of their wages paid while they undergo on-the-job training in meaningful permanent employment."

★ ★ ★

We predict that Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien will ask the new Congress for another hike in first, second and third-class postal rates. He will contend this is necessary due to soaring costs and an all-time-high deficit. To meet the latter, O'Brien will ask Congress for a $400-million supplemental appropriation.

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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE—TV star Efrem Zimbalist Jr., star of television's "The FBI" series, recently addressed graduates of the FBI Police Academy. "Liberty without obedience," he said, "has asserted itself across the United States under many pretexts and guises. In California, we have seen it parade beneath the counterfeit banner within a so-called free-speech movement. The doctrine of civil disobedience gathers much of its support among the bigots, fanatics, the extremists, the emotionally unstable and immature. They contrast their attitude with that of the dedicated police officer—guardian of public safety, friend of the sick and confused, protector of the innocent, nemesis of the criminal and target for insult, ridicule and even physical abuse by any character or mob which happens to take offense at a particular law. As crime continues its steady upward climb, as more and more citizens confess a fear to walk the streets at night, as permissive court decisions and penal leniency continue to favor the criminal at the expense of his victims, our citizens must make a choice."

Florida Civil Rights Case

Supreme Court Upholds Arrest Of Trespassers on Jail Grounds

By RUSSELL KIRK

The Supreme Court of the United States—well, the majority of the justices, that is—declared on November 14 that crowds of "demonstrators" have no right to obstruct public property. Tallahassee students who trespassed at the county jail were convicted in a Florida court, and the Supreme Court upheld the sentences imposed upon them.

Justice Hugo Black wrote in his majority opinion, "The state, no less than a private owner of property, has power to preserve the property under its control for the use to which it is lawfully

In a decided shift, liberal Justice Hugo Black wrote majority opinion.

dedicated. . . . The United States Constitution does not forbid a state to control the use of its own property for its own lawful nondiscriminatory purpose."

Interfering with the operation of a jail is a particularly dangerous form of "demonstration." The liberals and radicals who supported the Tallahassee demonstrators in their action would sing quite a different tune were an anti-Negro crowd in a possible lynching mood to invade the jail grounds and to insist that people have a right to behave as they choose upon public property.

It is astounding, indeed, that some courts have tended to sustain "civil rights" demonstrators in their blocking of public streets, invasion of mayors' offices, sit-downs in public libraries, demonstrations against firehouses and the like.

The next logical step for such agitators, if successful, would be to invade legislative chambers and interrupt proceedings; they have already engaged in mass picketing of courtrooms, on occasion. A government which is unable or unwilling to protect its own premises soon ceases to be a government at all, and power is seized by violent and fanatical pressure groups.

Some citizens, this commentator finds, genuinely entertain a most curious notion of the character of public property. Simply because a building is owned by the general public and controlled by national, state, or local government, the individual citizen has no right to behave as he chooses on that property. You can't lie down upon a bench in the mayor's anteroom and stay there overnight because you feel so inclined or because you want to annoy the mayor.

You can't use the school auditorium for a mass meeting without the permission of the school authorities. You can't set up a tent in a public park unless the park authorities regularly permit camping.

You can't demand to be present at the meeting of a legislative committee (for you're there only by the indulgence of the committee). You can't obstruct traffic in the heart of a city, no matter how worthy you believe your cause to be.

The "public" is not simply an individual citizen, nor a passionate interest group. When individuals and groups interrupt the normal use of public property, they are not representing the public: they are defying the public interest. And if you persist in your delusion of right, you must expect to be lodged, involuntarily, in that public building, the jail.

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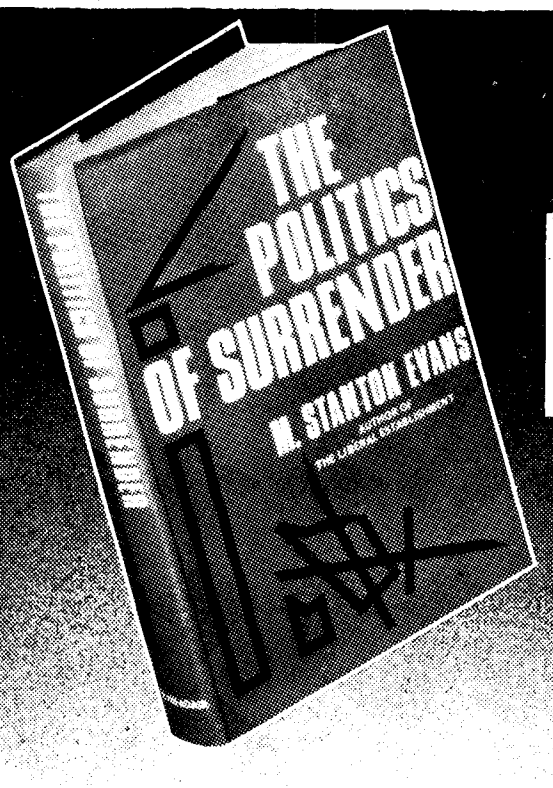

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